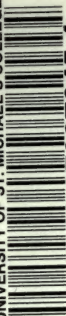
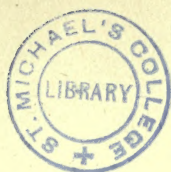


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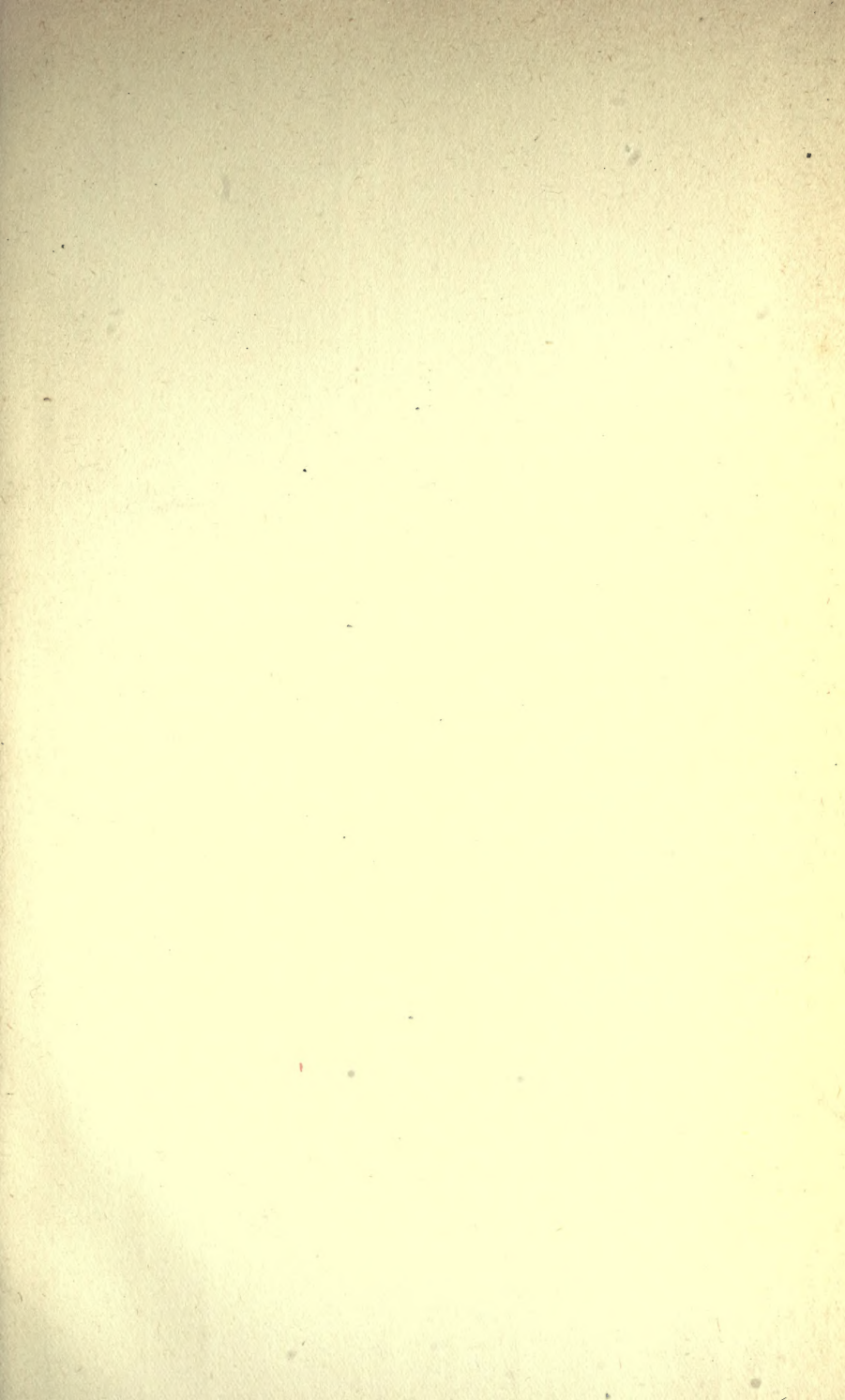


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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JANUARY 1893.

ART. I.—THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

1. *La Russie et l'Eglise Universelle.* Par VLADIMIR SOLOVIEV.
2. *La Russie.* XVII. Sguardo all'Oriente. Dal REV^{mo} PADRE VANUTELLI, O.P.

THE question of the Russian "Orthodox" Church, as regards its eventual union with the Holy See, is one which at the present moment is agitating the minds of all the really thinking portion of that vast empire ; and certain works which have lately appeared in Paris and in Rome on that subject merit, we think, the most careful and earnest consideration. We will first give some extracts for our readers from Vladimir Soloviev's last book, published in Paris to escape the censorship of the Russian press.

He begins by the true assertion that there is a great difference in the religious ideal of the Eastern and Western Churches. "Oriental Christianity," he states, "is identified with personal piety, and prayer is looked upon as the main object of religion. The 'Western' Church, on the other hand, while looking upon individual piety as the *germ* of all real religion, wishes that that germ should be developed and bear fruit in active social work for the glory of God and for the universal good of humanity. The Oriental prays: the Occidental prays and works." Which religion is the most conformable to the life of Jesus Christ? There is a popular

Russian legend which he quotes in illustration of his meaning. St. Nicolas and St. Cassian were once sent from Paradise to earth, and saw a poor peasant whose overloaded cart was deeply sunk in a rut, from which neither man nor horse could drag it. "Let us go and help that poor fellow," exclaimed St. Nicolas. "Certainly not," replied St. Cassian. "I should be afraid of dirtying my habit." "Well, then, wait for me," rejoined St. Nicolas, "or else go on by yourself." And he set to work vigorously to help to drag the cart out of the hole. When they both came back to Paradise, St. Peter was very much surprised at St. Nicolas' appearance; his habit being all dirty and torn. He asked: "What had brought him into such a state?" St. Nicolas explained the circumstances. Then St. Peter turning to Cassian, said: "Were you not with him on that occasion?" "Yes," replied Cassian. "But it is not my custom to meddle with other people's business; and above all, I did not wish to sully the pure whiteness of my habit. "Well," answered St. Peter, "thou, St. Nicolas, for not having cared to dirty thy habit in order to get thy neighbour out of trouble shall have thy feast observed twice a year, and thou shalt be considered the greatest saint, save myself, in Holy Russia. As for thou, Cassian, thou must be content with having thy habit immaculate, and thy feast will only be kept once in four years."

Soloviev continues: "Jesus Christ has founded his Church not merely to contemplate heaven, but also to work on earth, that the gates of hell may not prevail against her. . . . We have in the East *a Church which prays*, but where is *the Church which acts*?" The only solution, according to Soloviev, is the recognition of this great truth, that the East is only a portion of the universal Church, and that having no centre in herself, she must join the great centre, which Providence has placed in Rome.

The Russian peasant is by nature deeply, even profoundly religious. If you ask one of them, "What is meant by "*Orthodoxy*?" he will tell you that it consists of the following things: to be baptized a Christian; to wear on the breast a cross or a holy image of some sort; to adore Jesus Christ; to pray to the Blessed Virgin and all the Saints; to keep the feasts of obligation; to fast at the appointed seasons;

to venerate the priests and religious order; to receive the sacraments and attend to one's religious duties. All that is holy and sacred with us, is equally so with them. Not only is the worship of the Blessed Virgin, that distinctive mark of Catholicism, the special devotion of the people, but they have certain miraculous images of her, venerated by them and by the Catholics alike; as the Virgin of Czenstochovo in Poland, for instance, and many others. "Therefore," as Soloviev adds, "if we have all the main points of our faith in common, we must recognise our solidarity with the Catholic Church in all that we consider most essential." What, then, is the main difficulty in the wished-for union? Soloviev answers: "The Sovereign Pontiff. All their so-called 'orthodoxy' and 'Russian ideas' are only a protest against the universal power of the Pope. Look at the position of the Russian National Church. Forced to submit without reserve to the secular power, this Church established by the Czar, arrogates to itself an absolute authority, which can belong, by right, only to the Universal Church founded by Jesus Christ." Hence the revolt of what are called the *raskols* or *staroveres*, whose position is a most painful one; yet whose belief and assertion, that "*there is no real spiritual government in the Russian Greek Church*," is undeniable. In spite of the bitterest persecution and endless martyrdoms, millions of peasants have remained faithful to these principles; and Cardinal Reisach, who had hoped to bring their condition before the Vatican Council (had he lived to do so), asserted that they could in no way be looked upon as schismatics, inasmuch as their liturgical books were identical with those used by the Greek Catholics before the schism of Photius.

The most eminent of Russian theologians, Monsignor Philarète, the Metropolitan Archbishop of Moscow, whilst apparently desiring a change of some sort, laments the impossibility of calling together an Œcumenical Council to rectify abuses *as long as the Eastern Church is separated from the Western*. In one of his most important works he thus speaks:

The true Church embraces all those who believe in Jesus Christ made man. The doctrine of the various religious communities is founded on the divine truth, although it may be mixed with human error. . . .

The Eastern Church is undoubtedly the purest. . . . Yet, as all other Christian denominations pretend to a like purity of faith and doctrine, it is not wise of us to judge others, but rather to abandon all definite judgment to the Spirit of God, who governs the Churches.

"Such," exclaims Soloviev, "is the opinion of Monsignor Philarète, and the best part of the Russian clergy think as he does." But, however ostensibly charitable the view may be, it is illogical, for what becomes of the *one* Church founded by Jesus Christ himself? Monsignor Philarète also compares the historical life of the Church to the vision of Daniel of the great idol: the "head of gold" being the primitive Church; the "breast and arms of silver," the Church's extension by martyrdom; "the belly of brass," the fecundity of the Church by her great saints and doctors;" but the *actual* Church he thinks is represented by the two feet, "wherein the *clay is mixed with iron by the hands of men.*" But to accept this symbolism we must deny the Church of God, founded by Him for all time—that Church which is one, infallible, and unchangeable.

The so-called "orthodox" Russians, in their anti-Catholic polemics, have taken good care to confound ecclesiastical with religious liberty. As the Catholic Church cannot admit the principle of indifferentism in matters of religion, they exclaim against Roman despotism, whilst they ignore altogether her *ecclesiastical* liberty, which Catholicism alone, amidst all Christian communities, has so carefully guarded and kept.

A very remarkable Moscow patriot, J. Aksakov, lately dead, has written some admirable papers on the present condition of the Russian Church, of which Soloviev gives copious extracts. This Aksakov was for a long time persecuted by the Russian censorship for the freedom of his criticisms, but during his latter years was left in peace, while his works since his death have been published *in extenso*, and widely circulated.

Every one knows that the Russian Church is governed by an administrative Council called the Holy Synod, whose members are nominated by the Emperor, and who are under the authority of the Procurator-General, or head of the Synod, to whom belongs the initiative in all ecclesiastical matters. The dioceses are nominally governed by Bishops on the recommendation of the Synod, but the superior of that body can

change or displace them at his will. The hierarchical degrees of the clergy in the "Table of Precedence" are placed exactly on the same footing as the army. A metropolitan is equivalent to a field-marshal, an archbishop to a general of division, a bishop to a general of brigade, and so on. The Emperor in consequence frequently confers military decorations on noted ecclesiastics.

Are these details insignificant? asks Aksakov. No; because they express the real position of our Church. Incorporated as servants of the State, those who serve at the altar consider themselves simply as instruments of the secular power. . . . Apparently the Russian code was only meant to introduce the necessary order in the government of the Church, but in doing so *it has destroyed its soul*. . . . The Church has abdicated her ecclesiastical liberty, and the State, in return, has guaranteed her existence and her quality as the dominant Church, by suppressing all religious liberty in Russia. Where there is no interior or living unity, exterior conformity can only be sustained by violence and fraud.

As to the penal code regarding the "orthodox" Russian Church, it is not only recognised in principle, but developed in the most minute detail. Every one born in the Russian Church, or converted to what is called "orthodoxy," if he or she should embrace any other form of Christianity, is looked upon as a criminal, and must be judged by the civil tribunals as if he or she were a thief or a coiner. Those who have, even simply by argument or persuasion, induced any one to abandon the orthodox Church, are deprived of all civil rights, thrown into prison, and finally sent to Siberia. On this subject Aksakov writes:

To suppress by a cruel imprisonment the spiritual thirst of men, when nothing is done to satisfy it; to answer by exile the cravings of faith and the questions of earnest religious thought: to prove by punishment the truth of orthodoxy—surely this is to sap the basis of all religion, and to give up our arms altogether to our opponents.

Yet it is found that these cruel penal laws are absolutely indispensable to the existence of the dominant Church.

The historian Pogodine, a warm defender of orthodoxy, owns that if once religious liberty were allowed in Russia, one-half of the peasants would pass to the "Raskols" or Uniats, and one-half of the great world (and especially the ladies) would embrace the Roman Catholic faith.

What does this avowal mean? asks Aksakov. That at least one-half of the members of the "orthodox" Church belong to her only in appearance, and are only retained in her bosom by the fear of temporal penalties. What a disgraceful and infamous state of things! What a superabundance of sacrilege in holy places! what hypocrisy in the place of truth! what terror instead of love! what corruption under a semblance of order and purity! what bad faith in the violent defence of so-called "orthodoxy"! what a negation of principles vital to the very existence of a Church which calls itself the Church of Christ! Nowhere is truth held in such honour as in the domain of our ecclesiastical government; nowhere is servility greater, and nowhere is lying practised on so large a scale.

He winds up this chapter of his book with the following words:

The spirit of truth, the spirit of charity, the spirit of life, the spirit of liberty—all these things are utterly wanting in the Russian Greek Church. Thus, continues Soloviev, according to the testimony of an eminent and orthodox Russian patriot, our national Church, deprived of the spirit of truth and of charity, *is not the true Church of God.*

In the following chapter Soloviev proceeds to prove conclusively that there is no real union between the Russian Church and the Greek, as represented at Constantinople or in Servia and Bulgaria. Only material interests have hitherto prevented an open rupture. The Greek Church at Jerusalem depends entirely for its means of existence on the generosity and piety of the Russian pilgrims. But of late years the Patriarch of Constantinople has been twice on the very point of anathematising in a public manner the orthodox Russian Church; and it requires the most careful diplomacy, both at St. Petersburg and Constantinople, to avoid this open rupture. "Should that take place," writes Soloviev, "all the world will see that the Oriental Ecumenical Church is but a fiction, and that all that really exists in the East is a *group of isolated national Churches.*"

A very remarkable Russian gentleman, Mr. George Samarine, who took a leading part in the emancipation of the serfs in Russia in 1861, wrote to S. E. Mdle. de Smirnov (on the 22nd December 1871) as follows:

Papal absolutism has not killed the vitality of the Catholic clergy—on the contrary. And this ought to make us reflect seriously on our own position, for any one day they may proclaim in Russia the infallibility

of the Tzar, or, in other words, that of the Head of the Holy Synod, for the poor Tzar has in reality nothing to say to it. . . . And on that day will there be a single bishop, a single monk, or a single priest to protest against it? I doubt it very much! If any one does protest, it will be Aksakov and your humble servant, if we are still alive. As to our poor unhappy clergy, whom you consider more unfortunate than guilty (and perhaps you are right), they will be simply dumb.

"This prophecy," writes Soloviev, "has been exactly fulfilled. In 1885 an official document declared that the Russian Oriental Church had renounced her powers, and had remitted them into the hands of the Tzar. Few people took any notice of this manifesto. Samarine was dead; Aksakov had only a few months to live, though he hastened to write an article in his paper, the *Rouss*, protesting against it. . . . This absolute servitude of the Church to the State is incompatible with her spiritual dignity, her divine origin, and her universal mission."

Soloviev's book is divided into three parts, of which we have only reviewed the first. The second is entirely devoted to the proofs taken from Holy Writ of the mission given by our Lord to St. Peter, and the foundation of the Church by Christ Himself. His argument is an admirable one, but chiefly valuable as being addressed to his own countrymen in order to prove to them by irrefragable evidence that "outside Rome no unity can be found." Here is one of his sentences :

The Roman Catholic Church *alone* is neither a State Church nor a National Church, nor a sect founded by men. It is the only Church in the world which preserves and affirms the principle of universal social unity against the egoism of individuals and the particularism of nations. She alone preserves and affirms the liberty of the spiritual power against the absolutism of the State. In a word, hers alone is the power against which the gates of hell shall not prevail.

"By their fruits shall ye know them." In the domain of religion the fruit of Catholicism is the unity and liberty of the Church: the fruit of Protestantism, division and servitude—division for the Western and servitude for the Eastern Church.

In order to prove the necessity of Papal authority, Soloviev is careful to quote only the great Ecumenical authorities recognised and constantly quoted by the Russian Greek Church—St. Basil of Caesareia, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Flavian, and St. Leo the Great; and he devotes several chapters to extracts from the briefs of the last-named Pontiff in confirmation of the truth that no ecclesiastical act was

valid unless emanating from the See of Peter. He winds up this portion of his work with the following words :

To reject as a usurpation and an error the primacy of power and the doctrinal authority of the Roman See, it would not be enough to declare that men like St. Leo were usurpers and heretics, but we must also accuse the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon of heresy, and the whole of the Orthodox Church up to the sixth century.

We could have wished that Soloviev had made this chapter the conclusion of his book, but he has added a third part, full of a kind of mystical and what appears to us unsound theology, into which it is not our purpose to enter. We would rather turn to the second work upon Russia by Padre Vanutelli, which is a curious contrast to the one we have been discussing, although bearing upon the same subject.

This Dominican Father was invited by the Russian Government to visit the principal religious establishments in the country, his works on the East being already known, and he was everywhere received in consequence with the greatest kindness and cordiality, which accounts for the rather *couleur de rose* view he has taken of many things.

He begins by asserting that in this nineteenth century Russia is the greatest, the strongest, and the most solid power in the world ; that the largest portion of the people are profoundly attached to the Government, which represents to them their nationality in all its strength and glory ; that until now the people have not been touched by the revolutionary principles which are wrecking by degrees all the kingdoms of Europe, and that in consequence the future of Russia will be more important than that of any other country.

He considers that she has a great mission before her : 1st, the destruction of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, and with it, Mahometanism ; 2ndly, the crushing of the revolutionary spirit which is invading all other European countries ; and 3rdly, the arresting of the extension of Jewish influence, which is making ever-increasing progress elsewhere.

He speaks of Russia as a country little known and full of mysteries—in the first place, from its enormous size, from the autonomy of its different governors with their diverse systems and almost unlimited authority ; from the immense distances to be traversed and the difficulties of communication ; but in

the main, from the entire paralysis of the press under Russian censorship, so that no one knows what is passing in the country itself, and foreigners often hear of true things which have taken place in Russia which are entirely unknown to the people themselves.

But that which makes the basis and strength of the Russian Government is its national religion.

Nowhere [Padre Vanutelli says] is the title of "Holy" so true an expression of the reality as in speaking of Russia. In that country Christianity is not simply tolerated or permitted; but it is official and dominant and bound up in the very heart of the people. . . . In Russia, orthodoxy (*Pravoslavia*) forms as it were the very essence of their being, their highest ideal in the past as in the future, and their greatest glory in the present.

Padre Vanutelli landed at Odessa, and gives an interesting account of the town and its religious institutions; although that city has less of a national character than any other. Even there, however, he meets with a Latin professor in one of the monasteries, who instantly enters upon the question of religion, and expresses his earnest wish for the union of the Russian with the Catholic Church.

He was much struck with the Slav people, with their courtesy and kindness to strangers, their sympathy with all that suffered, their respect for parents and superiors, and their intense family affections. The Russian alphabet, he says, was originally composed by St. Cyril, when he, with St. Methodius, first converted the Slav people from barbarism to Christianity.

From Odessa he proceeds by railroad to Kiew, and then for the first time experiences the severity of the police supervision over all Catholic priests. Without special permission, none are allowed to go from one place to another, and this permission is only granted after minute inquiries as to the reason and motive of the journey; so that there is little or no communication between the different cities or Catholic missions, and Padre Vanutelli, who had hoped for letters of introduction to the Catholic community in Kiew, found that he must trust to his official passport alone. Kiew is the cradle of Christianity in Russia, the Jerusalem of the people of the north, and the most important of the sanctuaries of "Holy

Russia." An incessant stream of pilgrims from every part of the country flock to worship at the glorious shrines to be seen on every side. A magnificent monument has of late years been erected to the memory of St. Vladimir, who first established the Christian and Catholic Church in Kiew, all his people being baptized in the River Dnieper, and their principal idol having been thrown by him into the stream. This was in 988, and St. Vladimir ever after lived a most holy life, and died in odour of sanctity in 1015.

It is consoling to think [writes Padre Vanutelli] that at that time, at any rate, there was perfect union with the See of Rome; and in fact, in Russia more than anywhere else in the East, *no explicit or positive schismatical Act has ever been formulated*, but it has been imposed by the Government as a *political* measure.

The most important Christian monument in Kiew is the metropolitan cathedral, called St. Sofia, which is not only a magnificent church, but an agglomeration of ecclesiastical buildings, surrounded by a large wall, and forming a real religious citadel. It is impossible to estimate the treasures of this church, the beauty of its mosaics, or the magnificence of its pictures. It contains a miraculous image of St. Nicolas and two others of the Blessed Virgin, besides the most glorious collection of relics, contained in reliquaries rich with precious stones. The services are as admirably conducted as possible, and the music is something heavenly. No organ is permitted; but the harmony of the voices is such that Padre Vanutelli declares it to be "ideal," and of so purely religious a character "that the Catholic Church might well learn a lesson from the Russian." He was also immensely struck by the devotion of the people, in spite of the length of the services, and the necessity of standing during the whole time. "It was most edifying," he writes, "to see the recollection of the worshippers: there is never a movement, nor a word spoken; and every one is absorbed in following the action and the words of the priest in the sanctuary." The use of the Slav language in the administration of the Sacred Liturgy and of the Mass was conceded to St. Methodius by Pope John VIII. by a solemn decree published in June 880, St. Methodius having gone to Rome to plead for this sanction, which fact, as Padre Vanutelli observes, ought to unite the Slav people

still more closely to the Holy See. Whilst we introduce into our Liturgy various Greek words, like the *Kyrie Eleison*, &c., the Slav will not admit of a single Greek expression, and translate our *Kyrie* into *Gospodi Pomilui*, which is pure Slav. The inscriptions in mosaic in the beautiful old Church of St. Michael are likewise in the Slav character.

One of the most celebrated sanctuaries in Russia is the huge monastery or Laura of Kiew, with its vast catacombs and upwards of 2000 monks. This is the great object of the national pilgrimage, and during the spring and autumn the people come at the rate of fifty thousand a month, and each one receives food and lodging for three days. This enormous outlay is provided for by the large alms offered at the shrines, the superior of the Laura receiving annually more than a hundred thousand roubles. Padre Vanutelli had an audience of the Metropolitan Archbishop Platon (since dead), who received him with great courtesy, so that he strove to forget that he had been the secretary and friend of the infamous Siemasko, a name execrated throughout Europe for his cruelties. This Siemasko began life as a Ruthenian Catholic; then apostatised; and having obtained plenary powers from the Emperor Nicolas, persecuted with the utmost ferocity all those who kept to their faith, even including his own father. Tortures, massacres, exile to Siberia, and every possible horror, was exercised by him in order to compel the unhappy Ruthenians to enter the "Orthodox" Church, and to drown in blood their union with Rome. The history of those years would seem incredible, were it not confirmed by universal testimony, in spite of the efforts of the Russian authorities to suppress its publicity; and the persecution did not cease till the whole remaining population was forcibly made to accept the *Pravoslavia*, or orthodox Russian Church. "Truly," exclaims P. Vanutelli, "if the true strength of religious belief exists only in the Catholic Church, in the Russian there is the strength of *brute force*."

Kiew has been the centre of the Russian hierarchy ever since the tenth century. But after the Council of Florence, during which Cardinal Isidoro, Metropolitan of Kiew, solemnly proclaimed their union with Rome, certain Moscow prelates objected to this union, and established a double archbishopric in Kiew, one united and one separated from the Holy See. As

long, however, as Kiew was in the kingdom of Poland, the Catholics had the upper hand, and it was not till 1620 that the so-called "Orthodox" Bishops established themselves in the city, and by degrees all were incorporated into the State Church. Padre Vanutelli insists very much upon these facts: that the Russian people have, as it were, glided into schism without being aware of it—that all their sympathies are with the Catholic Church—and if once the Government could be convinced that their power would be strengthened by union with the Roman See, that union would be effected.

He devotes one or two chapters to the consideration of the Polish question, and does not minimise the cruel persecution to which the Catholics of that country are subjected. But he maintains that the majority of the Russians are ignorant of the facts, however true they may be; and that the public are kept effectually in the dark as to all these matters. The number of Catholic subjects of the Emperor of Russia still amount to twelve million, in spite of the absorption of the Ruthenian Catholics into the so-called "Orthodox" Church. Regarding the latter he writes:

To consider and speak of these poor people as *schismatics* is a grave injustice, for they are simply victims; and those among them who have resisted to the death (who may be numbered by thousands) have given not only a magnificent example, but a glorious testimony to the unity of the Catholic Church. . . . No one could justly be considered as an *apostate* who has been compelled by violence and force to submit to the Russian form of worship, nor, in case of absolute necessity or death, would it be considered a sin to receive the sacrament from a Russian priest, while all the while affirming belief in the Catholic faith. . . . Such is the position of these poor Uniats, forcibly torn from the Holy See.

From Kiew, Padre Vanutelli proceeded to Moscow, that real centre of the Russian people, and the city which, above all others, has never lost its national character. The limits of an article will not allow of our dwelling on his glowing description of the Kremlin and its treasures; nor on his visit to the *Iverskaia*, or miraculous picture of our Lady, which resembles that in Santa Maria Maggiore; nor on the different churches, monasteries, and convents which he inspected with ever-increasing admiration. We would rather dwell upon that which throughout his book is evidently his strongest

impression—*i.e.*, the deeply religious spirit of the people. He says :

I cannot understand how it is that so many persons who have visited Russia write about it afterwards without alluding to this, the main characteristic of the people. Without an appreciation of their religious aspect, any description of Russians must be incomplete.

There is not a shop, however humble, in which there is not a sacred corner or angle in the wall, where hang the holy pictures of the Blessed Virgin and some saint, with a lamp continually burning before them ; nor would a peasant enter or leave his house without a genuflexion in that direction. Again, over the great gate dedicated to our Saviour at the Kremlin a sentinel is placed to see that every human being takes off his hat and salutes this representation of Our Lord. "In truth," exclaims P. Vanutelli, "the Christian idea is predominant everywhere, and nowhere does Christ *reign* to such an extent as in Russia."

Padre Vanutelli devotes a chapter of his book to a consideration of the state of the clergy, who are divided into two classes—the *White*, who are married and secular ; and the *Black*, who are monks. The latter alone can aspire to higher dignities, and, as a whole, he speaks of them as men leading the most ascetic lives, and in many cases of singular piety and intellectual distinction. "Among these," he writes, "all those to whom I spoke desire the union with Rome at the bottom of their hearts ; and some will even express the wish openly, though paralysed in their action by the Russian system."

In the same way the Rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy, which he visited, repeated several times in the course of their conversation, that "the True Church ought not to be under any civil authority."

We must hasten to the end, when he visits St. Petersburg and obtains an audience of the actual head of the Russian Church, H. E. M. Pobiedonotzeff, the Imperial Procurator of the Holy Synod, and the most important personage in the whole kingdom. He received Padre Vanutelli with exquisite courtesy and kindness, and encouraged him to speak freely on the Russian question. There is no doubt that the Russian Church would unite herself to the See of Rome without the

smallest difficulty, "*if such union were desired by the Government.*" But at this moment Mr. Pobiedonotzeff thought it would be impossible, and would seriously injure imperial interests; for, setting aside theological questions, upon which he thought it would be easy to come to an understanding, it would not suit Russia just now to put herself in too close communication with the European people, whom he considered were losing all moral strength. He added that society in the West was going to ruin, and that its decay was owing to the want of religion and the revolutionary and social principles which were being so widely enunciated. He spoke also of the false principles of liberty which were being disseminated by the press, which was the real source of all these errors and aberrations.

In Russia [he added] we have preserved the principle of authority and the deepest respect for the Christian religion. The people are attached to the Government and thoroughly good at bottom; and they enjoy a state of prosperity which in other countries does not exist. Here there are no political parties; no parliaments or rival authorities; and we wish to avoid any contact with what might disturb the tranquillity of the masses. Such were the specious reasons [continues Padre Vanutelli] which he gave me for not concurring in the grand work of the union of all Christian people under one head.

In conclusion, Padre Vanutelli quotes Comte de Maistre, Peter the Great, and Napoleon I. in proof of his conviction that Russia will ultimately conquer the whole of Europe. In 1742, Peter the Great, in his famous will, writes:

The Russian people are called upon, in the future, to be the masters of Europe. The nations of Europe have fallen into a state of decrepitude, and will be conquered by a people who are younger and newer. . . . The invasion of the West by the North I look upon as a movement decreed by Providence. . . . I found Russia a rivulet; I leave it a river. my successors will make it a great sea, destined to fertilise the dried-up countries of Europe, and the waters of that sea will break down all barriers. . . .

Napoleon I. exclaimed: "In fifty years Europe will be either Republican or Russian." And added, when in St. Helena, in 1817, "Before long Russia will swallow up Turkey and Greece. I look upon this *as certain as if it had already happened.* Of all Powers, Russia is the most formidable." In Italy, Cardinal

Consalvi, in Spain, Donoso Cortes, in Germany, all the more earnest thinkers, concur in these views.

How great, then, should be our efforts, how earnest our prayers that Panslavism, which bears within itself the germs of dissolution while leaning only on the strength of the civil power, may be induced to accept the only solid basis of spiritual authority by union with the Church of Christ.

The masses [writes Padre Vanutelli] cannot always be kept in their present state of paralysed infancy. Public opinion must some day make itself heard, and in reality the change could be effected without any discordant elements. . . . It would be enough for the Metropolitans to accept the confirmation of their powers by the Holy See, as do all the other Christian nations of the Oriental Rite, like the Armenians, the Moscovites, the Chaldeans, the Melchites, the Copts, &c., who keep to their own rites, their own language, and their own hierarchy, all of which concessions would be easily obtained from Rome by means of a concordat between Russia and the Holy See. Even the Holy Synod could be preserved, subject to certain limitations, and perhaps would have even greater liberty than now, when so entirely subject to the Government. . . . These [he adds] are not illusions, they are well-grounded hopes, based on the study of the present state of society and on the infallible promises of Heaven, that one day all shall be united as one Fold under one Shepherd.

MARY ELIZABETH HERBERT.

ART. II.—VESTIGES OF THE BLESSED TRINITY IN THE MATERIAL CREATION.

“**I**N all creatures,” says St. Thomas of Aquin, “is found impressed a likeness to the Trinity, in the sense that we find in every creature things which lead us to the divine persons as their cause. For every creature subsists in its individual being (*esse*); has a form which determines its species; and has relations to something else” (S.I., Q. 45, a. 7).

St. Augustin refers to the same truth when he remarks, in the sixth book of his “Treatise on the Trinity”: “Recognising the Creator by means of the things which are created (Rom. i. 20), we ought also to understand the existence of a Trinity, of which every creature, as far as it is worthy to do so, bears the impress.”

We have elsewhere* considered man as the image and likeness of God. We have already pointed out how he reflects in his soul, and to some extent even in his body, the mystery of the adorable Trinity. We will now pass from the consideration of man to the contemplation of the rest of the visible universe, and see if we cannot discover some traces of God’s uncreated beauty, even in the material and perishable objects about us.

I look out over the far-stretching earth. I gaze in dreamy wonder at the sun and stars, and the fathomless interstellar spaces. I contemplate the gigantic mountains crowned with eternal snows; the warm southern seas, blue as the heather-bell, extending to endless distances; the leafy forests, the fields of golden corn, the meadow land and fruity orchards. Or I plunge into the shadowy summer woods, and roam among the branching trees till my senses become enthralled by the infinite variety of their types and textures. The wild flowers, with their wealth of colouring and endless diversity of form, enchant my eye; and, while I am yet dazzled by the brilliance of the jewelled wing of some wandering butterfly, the glad-

* *Vide the Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, April 1892.

some notes of a joyous bird startle the gloomy silence of the scene.

As I contemplate the countless myriads of objects, I call to mind that one and all are the effects of a supreme Cause, and that the most minute as well as the most vast have been formed and fashioned by the simple *fiat* of the one infinite and triune God.

And, knowing God to be the author of all, I shall naturally expect to detect at least some slight traces of His hands upon them. We shall not expect, of course, to behold God's image reflected as faithfully in what is material and perishable as in what is spiritual and supernatural. Nevertheless, just as the image of God is indelibly impressed on the soul, so we are reasonably led to infer that, in a less perfect and more shadowy way, some vestige of that image may also be discovered by the thoughtful student throughout the whole expanse of creation.

We shall be prepared to find the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, at least in dim outline, written large across the whole face of nature. We shall expect to find all things constructed and built up with a view to unity and trinity. We shall expect to find, in the first place, a threefold division bound together in some form of unity, and, in the second place, a unity falling away into a threefold division—that is to say, one, when considered from one point of view, and three, when considered from another point of view.

Let us begin with the widest and most general conception, that of Creation. "The Creation" embraces in a single word whatever God's hands have made, and includes every being that is not Himself. Yet this prodigious multitude of different entities fall naturally into three (and only three) great categories. Every object in creation must range itself under one of these three heads—(1) the spiritual, (2) the material, or (3) the mixed (that in which the spiritual and the material are combined to produce one single suppositum)—*e.g.*, Man. In other words, three distinct and wholly unlike worlds are included in the one creation—the material world, which includes the whole physical universe; the purely spiritual world, which includes all the angelic hosts, the good and the evil spirits; and thirdly, that world which is in part spiritual and in part

material—the human race, each member of which rejoices in a material body and a spiritual soul. Thus, all finite things, though forming one vast creation, are yet separated into three great divisions.*

If we pass on to consider some of the circumstances—the *necessary* circumstances—of existence, we shall find that the shadow of the Trinity still encompasses it. For example, it is not a mere accident, but a positive necessity, that creatures should exist *in Time*. So soon as the first creature begins to exist Time dawns. Every creature becomes subject to the laws of Time, and is bound by them as by chains of iron. But Time, like the Trinity, has three necessary relations; it is (a) past, (b) present, and (c) future. Observe, this is not in any sense an arbitrary division, but one which is inherent in the very nature of time. Try to separate time into a greater or less number of divisions. You cannot. All time must be either time past, or time present, or time to come. No man can so much as conceive a fourth kind of time, nor can any one reduce the three divisions to a lesser number. We cannot think of time except as past, present, and future; and yet time embraces *every* object on earth in its relentless grasp. Furthermore, as the Son is born of the Father only, whereas the Holy Ghost proceeds from Father and Son, so the present is born of the past only, whereas the future proceeds from past and present.

Or, instead of existence in general, take a special form of existence—viz., Life. In this, also, we shall find the idea of the Trinity clearly expressed. God has endowed a vast number of creatures with life. Life is enjoyed by trees, shrubs, flowers—*i.e.*, *vegetative* life. Life is also a possession of insects, birds, animals—*i.e.*, *sensitive* life; and life also falls to the share of man's immortal soul, which, in common with angels and archangels, rejoices in a *rational* and *intellectual* life. Here, then, we notice that all life breaks up into three divisions, and no more. And again let me call attention to the fact that this is no arbitrary division, but one existing in nature itself; a division not due to the fancy of a man who is seeking to build up a theory, but due to the action of God alone.

Now, descending to the lowest form of life, we shall find

* *Vide* "Die Schöpfungslehre," von Dr. J. Oswald, 1885.

that it also encloses a threefold condition of being. A plant exists under three distinct forms before it completes the full cycle of its being. First there is the seed or fruit ; secondly, there is the green stalk or trunk of whatever species it may be , and thirdly, there is the flower. So soon as the flower is full-blown and departs, we again reach the seed ; and then begins the cycle over again—(1) seed, (2) stalk, (3) flower—in one continuously recurring series.

If from the lowest form of life we ascend to the highest—*i.e.*, rational life—a similar phenomenon is observable. The soul must, as the shrub, pass through three progressive stages before attaining its full possible development, and the final purpose of its creation. It starts with the life of simple natural intelligence. Then by baptism it advances to the higher life of divine grace ; and finally, if it persevere, it ends by attaining a life of eternal glory in heaven. It is from first to last precisely one and the same soul, yet at each stage in its wonderful career it enjoys a totally different and wholly superior form of life. The man who enjoys the life of nature remains the same individual when by baptism he begins to live the life of grace, and the same still when he comes to live the life of glory. The unity of the individual, and the trinity of life that he leads, recalls the unity and the trinity in God. Thus we have nature, grace, and glory, in the one soul of man, and Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in the one substance of God. Grace supposes and (chronologically) follows nature ; * glory presupposes nature as well as grace, and proceeds from both (from nature as a necessary condition, and from grace as an efficient cause), and so suggests the birth of the Son from the Father, and the procession of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son.

The further we extend our investigations the more struck we shall be by the marvellous manner in which vestiges of the Trinity are discernible in every part of the measureless creation ; even in the commonest objects on which our eyes can rest. It might seem difficult at first glance to discover any resemblance to the triune nature of God—say, for example,

* Normally, though not of course necessarily—*e.g.*, we have an exception in the case of the Blessed Virgin.

in such familiar things as rocks, mountains, seas, lakes, &c. Yet even in all these there is much to suggest it.

Thus we notice that all material things are bound on every side by lines; in fact, it is these lines which determine their form and appearance. Everything has a certain definite outline. But lines are capable of only three possible arrangements, and every created form must be contained in space by one of these three, as it must be contained in time by one of the three divisions of duration.

Let us consider these three arrangements.

First, there is the simple line.

Secondly, there are a series of simple lines arranged so as to produce a surface.

Thirdly, there are a combination of surfaces so arranged as to produce a solid.

Now every object in the whole visible universe is in form—(a) a line, or combination of lines; (b) a surface, or combination of surfaces; or (c) a solid, or combination of solids. In this respect every extended substance falls under a triple division.

But, what is still more singular, each of these three terms is itself made up of a unity and a trinity.

A mathematical straight line, though one, possesses three distinct yet essential parts—*i.e.*, the beginning, the end, and their connection. We cannot even conceive an actual straight line without these three necessary parts. There must be a point from which the line starts, and a point at which it terminates, and a space between. For, were there no space between there would be no line, as one point would be identical with the other.

The same shadow of the Trinity may be found also in surfaces. Every surface is contained by three lines (or by combinations of three). The simplest form of surface that we can imagine is a triangle, and that demands, as an absolute condition of its existence, at least three lines. It is impossible to find in the whole realm of nature any surface whatsoever with less than three sides, for with less than three we cannot enclose a space. As God necessarily contains three persons, so a line necessarily contains three parts; and a surface necessarily contains three lines. If we examine any rectilinear figure we please, we shall find that it is either

a triangle, or, at all events, composed of two or more triangles. A square, for example, or any other form of parallelogram, is nothing more than two triangles laid one against the other. Take this printed page of the DUBLIN REVIEW. Draw an imaginary line from one corner to the opposite, and it at once becomes evident that it is in reality but the union of two complete triangles. If we examine a pentagon, we shall find that it is but a cluster of three triangles; a hexagon a cluster of four triangles; a heptagon a cluster of five; and so on, no matter what may be the number or even the relative proportion of the lines which the figure contains. The most complicated form will ever be found to be in simple truth but a conglomeration of triangles.

Now let us pass from mere surfaces to solids. A solid is necessarily of three dimensions. Every solid body is made up of three, and only three—viz., length, breadth, and thickness. There is no material object in the whole world which is not contained by these three—they cover all conceivable things from the vastest sun to the smallest grain of sand. As we cannot conceive any visible object possessing less than these three dimensions, so neither can we conceive any object possessing more than three. A fourth dimension is unthinkable; and a material entity with less than three is equally so.

Thus vestiges of the Trinity follow and pursue us wherever we direct our investigations. We will now consider if any additional traces of the Trinity can be discovered in the stones and metals, and the waters of oceans, lakes, and rivers. Let us commence with the commonest of all objects—viz., water. Water covers nearly two-thirds of the entire earth, and is marked by most distinct traces of the Trinity. The substance of God is one, but this divine substance is terminated in the three Persons, so that Each is a distinct Suppositum. So the substance of water is one, yet it is found to possess three different states of being. It may exist in the form of ice, hard and rigid as marble: it may exist soft and yielding, as in a summer sea; and thirdly, it may, by the application of great heat, assume the form of invisible steam and rise into the higher regions of the atmosphere.

It may change from one condition to the other and back

again, but within the limits of these three it must ever remain.

And what we have pointed out in the case of water may be said with equal truth of all metals; such as iron, copper, gold, silver, lead, &c. They one and all are capable of existing in three distinct states: hard and solid as we generally see them; secondly, liquid, as when melted down in the furnace; and thirdly, in the form of gas or vapour. Man may not have power to apply heat of sufficient fierceness and intensity to vaporise all metals; but where such a terrifically high temperature is attained, as, for example, in the sun, even the most stubborn metals may be reduced to a gaseous state. The degree of heat present in the photospheres of the stars for instance, is sufficient (so Lockyer tells us) to vaporise magnesium, sodium, iron, barium, &c. Indeed, copper and zinc and other substances have actually been detected in a vaporous state in the sun. And, given a sufficiently high temperature, probably all earthly substances might be reduced to a liquid and to a gaseous state. Was not the entire earth once but a gas cloud? This is certainly the teaching of many scientists.* Here, then, we have an endless variety of substances, each possessing its own nature and characteristics, yet capable of existing in three totally different forms—solid, liquid, or gaseous. Except in one of these states we cannot imagine them; yet we have no difficulty in admitting that they may exist indifferently in any one of the three.

Let us now turn to a somewhat different object—the sun. The great orb of day is often spoken of as an image of God. It is the sun that brightens, cheers, and gladdens the heart, and makes life possible to man and beast. It is the sun that at its rising calls man to labour, and that transforms the earth from darkness into light and beauty. But if we study it somewhat more carefully, we shall find that it, like all else, combines a trinity of operation with its unity of substance. The sun is one, but its functions are threefold. In order to illustrate this, let us arrest one of its golden rays after traversing some ninety-three millions of miles to our earth, and see

* “At first the masses (composing the solar system, with its planets and moons, &c.) were an incandescent gas, and then an incandescent liquid.”—See “A Christian Apology,” pp. 236–7, vol. i. By Paul Schanz, D.D., D.Ph.

what it reveals. That simple ray is indeed a most exquisite figure of the triune nature of God. In one God there are three Persons; in one ray there are three principles. What are they? Well! examine the ray and we shall see.

Suppose I am a prisoner in a lonely dungeon and I watch a ray of golden splendour penetrating into my dark and dismal cell.

My eye will at once recognise in it—(I.) *a principle of light*. It scatters darkness from its path, and wherever it falls it brings light and brightness. But this is not all. My eye perceives that it brings not only light, but also colour. It paints the rose red and the lily white; it adorns the opening daisy and adds a thousand tints to the violet. It would take up too much space to explain this fully now, but any one studying the matter will find that the sun, besides being a principle of light, is also (II.) *a principle*, or at least a condition, *of colour*. The sun, indeed, is the greatest and cleverest of artists. Who, indeed, can paint with such consummate skill or with such a delicate touch? And what is the third principle? I extend my shivering manacled hand and let the wandering ray fall upon it, and immediately I experience a sense of genial warmth. And even though I close my eyes and so cut off all perception of light and colour, I still continue to enjoy the pleasing glow. It is therefore (III.) *a principle of heat*, as well as of light and colour. The one sun represents the one God; its threefold operation the three Divine persons.

Nor need we stop here. If we now transfer our attention to each of these properties, or principles, existing in the one ray of light, we can easily convince ourselves that each, in its turn, contains a still further image of the Trinity. It would take too much space to explain this in all three cases, so, omitting all further reference to light and heat, let us trace this image in the laws of colour.

What a beautiful thing is colour! Nothing is so varied, so rich, so ethereal as the colouring in nature. Every species of flower seems to hoist its own flag. Every kind of fruit seems to blush in its own inimitable manner. The infinite number of different shades and tints, even of the same colour, almost surpasses computation. Besides the vegetable kingdom, call to mind the untold myriads of insects—especially tropical flies,

moths, butterflies, and beetles—with wings encrusted, as it were, with gems and precious stones, that glance and sparkle in a thousand gorgeous and brilliant dyes. At first sight, colour seems to be far from reflecting the triune nature of God. A closer and more accurate observation, however, will reveal to us that all these infinite varieties of colour are reducible to three; and that these three are contained in a single ray of sunshine.

A single ray of pure white light falling on a prism will break up into three clear and simple colours. We are not, of course, forgetting that there are seven so-called colours in the solar spectrum. But there are *only three primary or radical colours*. The other four are but the complementary colours, and are formed by these three flowing together at the lines of contact and mingling in different proportions.* All, or almost all, scientists agree that there are but three elementary colours, and that all the rest are but combinations of these three as they mingle in different degrees and intensity.

The original ray is white, and that may be taken as a figure of the unity of nature in God. It is resolvable into three primary colours, however, which may well suggest the trinity of persons. And as every object in existence is the work of the three divine Persons, so every colour and hue and shade visible to human eye is the work, if we may so express it, of the three primary colours, being formed by a combination of them in varying proportions. To these *three* colours indeed is due every entrancing effect of golden sunset, every gem of “ray divine,” every gleam of fascinating loveliness.

All the most exquisite scenes conjured forth by the painter’s brush, every fairy-like view in forest, field, mountain, sky, or sea, so far as the harmony and variety of the colouring are concerned, owe their existence to this wonderful trio. Hence, we may declare with truth, that over all that is fairest and comeliest in the regions of light this trinity of colour throws its magic spell.

There is some dispute, it would seem, as to which are the

* Even two parallel lines of wet paint, one *blue* and the other *yellow*, will be found to produce a *green* line at the points of contact. This example, though not *altogether* applicable, will serve to illustrate our meaning.

three primary colours, but that three alone exist is generally, if not universally, admitted.

We may here observe, too, that though the three fundamental colours dissolve in the unity of white light, yet that they coalesce in such a manner that each of the three preserves its distinctive attribute. Red is the caloric; yellow (or emerald green), the luminous; and blue, the chemical (actinic) ray.*

If it is permissible to follow this analogy out further, we should say that the caloric ray evidently corresponds to the Father, the warm source of light; the luminous ray to the son, the Light of the world; and the chemical ray, to the Spirit, which pierces into the innermost recesses of the heart, and imbues it with peculiar qualities and forces. One of the instances given by Woodward is very suggestive. Some plants (cucumbers and melons) were put under a glass, which was so coloured as to absorb the blue (chemical) rays of light. The consequence was that the plants grew with the greatest rapidity, and put forth luxuriant blossoms, but just as quickly they faded away again without bringing forth fruit. Does not this look like a physical reflection of the Christian precept, "Quench not the Spirit," because without Him no real fruit can ripen (Thes. v. 19).

What has been said of colour may be applied also to sound. "The kingdom of sound," remarks Theodore Christlieb, D.D., "is governed by the triad as the basis of all chords; nor does this destroy the original unity of the key-note, but on the contrary, makes it an organised unity embracing multiplicity."†

* "The employment of an impure spectrum, i.e., one mixed with white light, and some misunderstood experiments with absorptive coloured media, induced Sir David Brewster to propound the theory in his work on 'Optics' in *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia* (pp. 72 *et seq.*), that white light has in reality but three primary constituents—red, yellow, and blue. He announced this in the work just cited as an original and independent discovery; but he had been long anticipated in his doctrine of the triune character of light, first by Wunsch, at Leipzig, in 1792, and not long subsequently, at the beginning of the present century, by that truly great philosopher and physicist, Thomas Young, in this country. Nay, more; so far from Brewster having made a discovery, he absolutely enunciated an erroneous doctrine, and took a retrograde step in comparison with those of his predecessors. It is quite true that the light of the sun, as it reaches us, is compounded of three colours, and of three only; but unfortunately two out of Brewster's three colours happen to be the wrong ones! For while it is the veriest truism to assert that blue and yellow paint mixed together form green, no such result can be predicated of the mixture of blue and yellow light; which mixture, so far from being green, is white. These colours are, in fact, complementary to each other. The three primitive colours are a scarlet red, emerald green, and violet blue or blue violet" (See *Knowledge*, Jan. 1886, p. 95).

† "Modern Doubt and Christian Belief," p. 277.

So again, in each note of music there are three distinct qualities—viz., (1) the strength or intensity, (2) the pitch, and (3) the quality (*timbre*).

We may also remark that every material thing exists—(i.) in time, (ii.) in space, (iii.) and in motion; and just as time and space, as we have already seen, are terms of triple aspect, so motion embraces three relations—(i.) direction, (ii.) distance, (iii.) velocity.

Many further objects might be selected to illustrate the truth of our contention; but perhaps more than enough has been said to prove how wondrously even the soulless and senseless creation reflects back the image of its great Fashioner. If we may catch such glimpses, even in our present condition of comparative ignorance, who shall say what a picture of God the visible creation will present to us when we can contemplate it from the other side of the veil?

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

ART. III.—THE ROYAL PATRONAGE IN INDIA.

ON the festival of the Annunciation, 1497, Vasco da Gama set sail from Belem, near Lisbon, and seventeen months afterwards, on August 28th, 1498, his two small vessels of a hundred and a hundred and twenty tons burthen, cast anchor at Calicut, in the Malabar district, on the south-west coast of India. This was the commencement of the Portuguese Empire in the East.

Vasco da Gama has been called by Portuguese writers the discoverer of India, but he cannot claim this title in the sense in which Columbus is styled the discoverer of America, for there were Europeans in India, and even in Calicut, before Vasco da Gama dropped anchor there, and India was well known to Europeans, even in ancient times. There was a regular trade between India and Europe, either by caravans through Persia, or by ships which sailed down the Gulf and the Red Sea. It is even possible that the adventurous Phœnician sailors ventured so far, for it has been suggested that it was from India that Solomon obtained gold, apes, and peacocks. It is known that Alexander the Great, with his army, penetrated to the north-west frontier of India. In the vivid sketch of the Roman Empire which Milton, in "Paradise Regained," puts into the mouth of the tempter, are the lines :

Or embassies, from regions far remote,
From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these :
From India and the Golden Chersonese,
And utmost Indian isle, Taprobane,
Dusk faces with white silken turbants wreathed.

When the Roman Empire disappeared, and the Mussulman power arose in Arabia, the commerce was, for a time, interrupted, but it was taken up by Mahomedan traders, and the goods found their way by the Levant to Venice, and thence were distributed through Europe. The principal commodity seems to have been pepper, on which an enormous profit was made. The extent of the trade is shown by the fact that Venetian ducats are seen to this day in the Malabar district. It was in order to wrest this trade from Venice that the

Portuguese undertook the long and dangerous voyage round the Cape. Having found the way to India, the Portuguese prosecuted their enterprise with much vigour and foresight. The Mahomedan fleets were driven off the seas in a succession of sanguinary naval engagements. The deep harbour of Goa was taken, and that place was made the viceroy's capital. Expeditions were sent against Aden, Ormuz, and Malacca, the keys of the waterways in the East. Throughout the sixteenth century the Portuguese extended their power, and they behaved as if it were to last for all time. Goa, which had been under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Funchal in Madura, was made an archiepiscopal see. Suffragan sees were created in 1557 at Ccchin, in 1600 at Cranganore, and in 1606 at Mylapore or San Thomé, on the Coromandel coast. The ancient Syrian Church, which had existed for many centuries in southern India, was reconciled to Rome at the synod of Diamper in 1599. The Holy See formally recognised the king of Portugal as patron and protector of the Christian Church in these regions.

The Portuguese monopoly, however, did not remain undisturbed. English, Dutch, and French companies were formed, and began to trade with India in the seventeenth century, despite the opposition of the Portuguese. In 1610 the Dutch made a settlement at Pulicat on the Coromandel coast. In 1612 the English settled at Surat. In 1639 the English erected Fort St. George, close to the Portuguese settlement of Mylapore, or San Thomé.* In 1661 Bombay was ceded to the English by treaty as part of the dowry of Queen Catharine. In 1663 the Dutch were powerful enough to take Cochin from the Portuguese. The supremacy in the East of the Most Faithful King was at an end, and his territory in India was reduced to Goa, Diu, and Damaun, on the western coast.

In the meantime the dreams of Christianising this vast country were not fulfilled. Stately churches were erected in each Portuguese settlement, and there were many holy men among the bishops and priests who served these churches, but religion did not flourish. Albuquerque, the great viceroy, had

* One derivation of the name Madras, which was given to the town that grew up under the shelter of Fort St. George, was from *Madre de Dios*, the title of one of the churches at San Thomé.

encouraged his followers to marry in the country, and the generation which sprang from these ignorant mothers were indifferent Christians.

It has always been the special hindrance of a missionary that the conduct of his countrymen falls far short of the standard he strives to enforce upon his converts. St. Francis Xavier landed in Goa in 1542. He was an exceptional man, and held an exceptional position. He was in favour at the court of Lisbon, and was held in respect by the officials at Goa, so that he was able to work, as he pleased, under the shelter of Portuguese influence; but we find that some of his most successful journeys were made outside Portuguese territory. Some of his successors, the Jesuit fathers of the seventeenth century, gave up in despair the hope of doing any good from Goa, and Robert de Nobili and other Jesuits penetrated to the native court of Madura and laboured there, concealing the fact that they had any connection with the Portuguese. Even the French Jesuit mission of the following century was commenced on the same lines. In 1700 Père Martin wrote, after describing Goa and its splendours :

C'est donc en menant parmi eux une vie austère et pénitente, parlant leurs langues, prenant leurs usages, tout bizarres qu'ils sont, et s'y naturalisant, enfin ne leur laissant aucun soupçon qu'on soit de la race de François, qu'on peut espérer d'introduire solidement et avec succès la religion chrétienne dans ce vaste empire des Indes.*

These Jesuit missionaries met with much success in the interior of southern India, and established numerous flourishing Christian communities in villages, in many of which, alas! now remains only the ruined church to show that Christians once worshipped there. There is a story told that one of these missionaries penetrated into the Deccan, and was very favourably received by the Mahomedan king. He fell into the hands of the Portuguese, and was confined in the prison of the Inquisition at Goa, but the Mahomedan monarch demanded his release with a threat of war, and the Goanese authorities were fain to yield and to release their captive.

In 1759 the decree for the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the dominions of the Most Faithful King was promulgated

* "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," ii. p. 266.

at Lisbon, and orders were sent to Goa * that all Jesuits should be sent bound to Lisbon. All the Jesuit fathers who were within reach of the Portuguese authorities were arrested and sent in custody to Portugal, but those who were fortunate enough to be within the dominions of Hindu or Mahomedan or Protestant rulers escaped this tyranny, and continued to manage their missions as well as they could without help from Europe. Even after the Society of Jesus was dissolved these zealous men remained at their posts and laboured on until death released them. It is said that one of them lived until 1817 and had the happiness of seeing the Society again established.

Meanwhile other missionaries strove to carry on the work from which the Jesuits had been removed, and that the missions in southern India did not entirely die out is very much due to the efforts of the French priests from Pondicherry. Carmelites were sent to the Malabar coast and to Bombay, but in that city there were unfortunate disputes with the Archbishop of Goa, who claimed jurisdiction in Bombay, although it is British territory. The story goes that when a Carmelite friar, Manoel de S. Catharina, arrived in 1780 as Archbishop of Goa, the Carmelite Fathers of Bombay asked him, as a brother of their own order, to put a stop to the discord caused by the archbishop's claims, but his reply was: "Reverend Fathers, before I became a Carmelite I was already a Portuguese." The East India Company took the side of the Carmelites and expelled the archbishop from Bombay. The archbishop then requested the Holy See to suspend the Carmelite vicar-apostolic in Bombay, and this drew from Pope Pius VI. the following startling rebuke:

Thy petition that, after thy expulsion by the English, we should likewise expel our vicar, Bishop Victor, seems to us quite abhorrent to Christian charity and justice. Why shouldst thou want him not to be the Catholic shepherd in the island of Bombay, and that there should rather be none other than thou? Is Christ divided through thee, and dost thou want the people of Bombay to be entirely deprived of the food of the Christian religion merely because they are prevented from obeying the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa? Has, perchance, some Archbishop of Goa been crucified for the people of Bombay, or have they been baptised in his name?

* Weld's "Suppression of Society of Jesus," p. 309.

The Archbishop in after years addressed the Governor-General at Calcutta, contending that the marriage treaty of Queen Catharine of Braganza in 1661 preserved his jurisdiction over Bombay ; but this interpretation of the treaty was repudiated by Lord Minto. The stipulation in the treaty was that the inhabitants should enjoy the free exercise of the Catholic religion, as was stipulated concerning Tangiers and Dunkirk, and nothing was said about the Goanese jurisdiction.

Here it may be remarked that when Mr. Gladstone, nearly sixty years ago, wrote his book upon "Church and State," he attempted to justify the tolerant attitude of the British Government in India by saying that there was a compact binding the Government to protect the religions of the country. Macaulay ridiculed this idea, and asked where such a compact is to be found. It is true that for a small fragment of British India—the island of Bombay—there is such a treaty, and that it binds the British Government to protect the Catholic religion.

The beginning of the present century was a gloomy period in the history of Indian missions. The narratives of French priests, such as the Abbé Dubois, show how the flocks were scattered, having no shepherds. The Goanese, to whatever part of India they wandered, kept themselves distinct from the Catholics, whom they termed Propagandists ; and these scattered Goanese communities, throughout British India, were served by priests sent from Goa. Many of these clerics were uneducated men, with a low standard of sacerdotal duty, and the practice of their flocks became correspondingly relaxed. Portugal was, if willing, unable to restore the missions to their former fervour.

These matters were known at Rome, and Gregory XVI., in 1834 and 1835, appointed vicars-apostolic at Madras and Calcutta ; in 1837 appointed a vicar-apostolic at Trichinopoly, and sent Jesuits* once more to Southern India ; and in 1838, by the Bull *Multa Præclare*, abolished the Portuguese Sees of Cranganore, Cochin, and Mylapore, leaving British India under the missionary vicars-apostolic.

* A lithographed volume of their correspondence has been published under the title of "La Nouvelle Mission du Maduré." One of these Jesuits, the Hon. and Rev. Father Clifford, son of Lord Clifford, of Chudleigh, was drowned at the outset of his missionary career.

The Goanese in British India refused to submit to this decision of the Holy See. Notwithstanding that they were in British territory, they took refuge under the doctrine of the *Regium placitum*, which very much resembles the doctrines put forward by Henry VIII. of England. They contended that they were not obliged to obey decrees of the Holy See until these decrees came to them through the Court of Lisbon. This deplorable dispute, which is known at Rome as the *Indo-Lusitanorum Schisma*, lasted many years, and gave rise to much scandal. In many cases the Goanese Christians and the flocks of the missionaries came to blows, and when such riots took place, the local authorities were disposed to support the Goanese, either because they were considered to be in possession, or, perhaps, because they were natives, and the missionaries were European, for the British courts have always an unconscious bias in favour of natives of India.

Some of these episodes were most unseemly. In 1839, at Trichinopoly, the Goanese held the church against the Propagandist Christians, who attacked it. Father Garmèr, being a military chaplain, was tried by court-martial on a charge of instigating this riot, but was acquitted. In the same year, at Tuticorin, the church was closed by the Goanese against the missionaries, and two years later, when Father Castanier attempted to enter the church, the magistrate bound him over to keep the peace.

In 1848, in the large cantonment of Secunderabad, there was a dispute about a church which was held by the Goanese in defiance of the decree of the Holy See. The Catholic soldiers of the 84th Regiment and of the Company's Artillery attacked the Goanese, and wrecked the church. The Madras Government ordered the removal of the vicar-apostolic, Dr. Murphy,* and of his Irish priests. The General at once expelled from Secunderabad the bishop and his Irish clergy, and they moved to the adjacent city of Hyderabad, the Nizam's capital, so that once more Catholic missionaries took refuge in a native state from a Christian Government. The General at Secunderabad then requested the Resident at the Court of the Nizam, General Fraser, to deport them from the Nizam's

* Now Archbishop of Hobart, Tasmania.

dominions, but the Resident refused to do this, and the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, supported the Resident in his refusal.* The Madras Government, however, were obstinate, and Bishop Murphy had to go to London and lay his case before the Court of Directors, in order to obtain permission to return to Secunderabad. It is interesting to know that Pius IX. sent to the Resident, General Fraser, a medal in recognition of the stand he had made on behalf of the vicar-apostolic.

Numerous other instances might be given, as the records of the courts in the Madras Presidency, from the Kistna river to Cape Comorin, abound in litigation between the opposing bodies. The Goanese Christians were very pertinacious in their determination not to obey the orders of the Holy See. There was at this time no Portuguese bishops in India, and the See of Goa was administered by a Goanese vicar-general. The Goanese party was thus in a difficulty about replenishing the number of priests, as they had no bishop, and the Holy See would not permit the consecration of a bishop to perpetuate this disobedience. In these circumstances the Goanese clergy invited to India the Portuguese Bishop of Macao in China. He came twice to India and gave confirmation and holy orders in British India to the opponents of the vicars-apostolic.

These disorders at length drew from Pius IX., in May 1853, the Brief *Probe Nostis*, which, in vigour of language, carries one back several centuries, and recalls some of the historical utterances of Gregory VII. The Bishop of Macao was gravely rebuked, the faithful were told plainly that only the vicars-apostolic had jurisdiction in their dioceses, and that the Goanese clergy had none; and the Vicar-General of Goa, with three of his priests, was mentioned by name, and was given two months' time for submission on pain of suspension.

The Portuguese Government then took up the matter, and in 1857 a *concordat* was framed between the Holy See and the Most Faithful King, the Pope yielding so far as to permit, in 1861, a "double jurisdiction"—that is to say, a special jurisdiction of the Portuguese prelates over the Goanese Catholics, who resided within the dioceses of the vicars-apostolic. The Goanese

* "Memoir and Correspondence of General" J. S. Fraser. Whiting & Co.: London. 1885. Second edition, pp. 274-279.

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regarded this as a victory. In the official *Boletim de Goa*, when the *concordat* was published, it was notified that—

On this occasion his Majesty orders that to all the ecclesiastics of the Orient, who have taken such great pains to uphold the rights of the Portuguese crown, be signified his just appreciation of their patriotic efforts.

In 1864 Pius IX. addressed a letter to the King of Portugal asking that a conciliatory spirit might be shown in adjusting these unhappy disputes, and, in speaking of the double jurisdiction, the pontiff said :

The quite extraordinary indulgence we have shown by legitimating, although only for a time, a usurped jurisdiction, and by reviving a most singular privilege which, in regard to the places under foreign dominion in which it is to be exercised, and to the other surrounding circumstances, has no parallel in the history of the Church.

This “double jurisdiction” did not work smoothly. It was a tribal and not a territorial jurisdiction, and the Goanese clergy, within the dioceses of the vicars-apostolic, exercised jurisdiction over all who chose to call themselves Goanese. Moreover, there was intermarriage between the Goanese Catholics and the flocks under the vicars-apostolic, and the children of these unions were baptised in one church or the other, so that there were families of which some members were under one jurisdiction and some under the other. In Madras there had been a fashion among the native Christians to take their infants, through a special devotion, for baptism in a certain church which was now under the Goanese clergy, and all the infants so baptised were claimed by the Goanese clergy, although the parents were under the jurisdiction of the vicars-apostolic. It was fatal to all discipline, because discontented persons in the flocks of the vicars-apostolic could betake themselves to the nearest Goanese church, where a much lower standard of conduct was exacted. These abuses were known at Rome, and in 1883 Father Weld, S.J., came to India specially to inquire into the subject. The result of his visit was that the vicars-apostolic sent memorials to the Holy See and to the Secretary of State at Westminster, praying for the abolition of the extraordinary Goanese jurisdiction. It may here be noted that all these vicars-apostolic were of foreign nationality, except one—the Irish vicar-apostolic of Madras—but all the

prelates, French, Italian, Belgian, Savoyard, German, all asked that the exceptional Goanese jurisdiction might cease. This prayer was strongly supported by the viceroy, Lord Ripon. Cardinal Jacobini, on April 10th, 1884, addressed a letter to the Portuguese Ambassador to the Holy See, in which the very plainest language is used about the low state of the native Goanese clergy, and on August 26th, 1884, Leo XIII. issued the brief *Studio et Vigilantia*, which abolished the extraordinary jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa in Ceylon and some of the Indian dioceses. The *Regium placitum* was again used as a pretext for delay in obeying this decree, and matters remained unaltered.

Meanwhile the Holy See contemplated the erection of an ecclesiastical hierarchy in India, which was still under vicars-apostolic, and negotiations were entered into with Portugal. The Government at Lisbon asked that the missionary vicars-apostolic be swept away, the old suffragan Sees of Goa be restored, and that all India be placed under Portuguese bishops. It was contended that the most faithful king had founded these Sees and missions by his munificence in past centuries, that his position as royal patron was a recognition of this truth, and that the missionaries of other European nations had merely carried on the work of the Portuguese, had built upon Portuguese foundations, and had reaped where the Portuguese had sown. It was even contended that the Holy See had no power to derogate from the rights of the most faithful king as Royal patron in the East. The proposals of Leo XIII. were rejected, the Holy See was asked to show itself more reasonable in its pretensions, thinly veiled threats of schism were used, and the Portuguese Ambassador spoke of "the rights of the Crown of Portugal to ecclesiastical jurisdiction in British India," and gave his ultimatum in the following words: "Portugal is unable to lose anything which it possesses." Finally, on June 23rd, 1886, a new concordat was signed between the Holy See and the King of Portugal, under which the Archbishop of Goa was raised to the dignity of patriarch of the East Indies, and was given three suffragans at Damaun, Cochin, and San Thomé, or Mylapore, while the King of Portugal was given a right of presentation to the newly created Sees of Bombay, Mangalore, Quilon, and Madura. The new

hierarchy was created by decree in September, 1887, and was established in the following year by the papal delegate in India, and Lisbon bestirred itself to send out three Portuguese prelates for the suffragan Sees.

Father George Porter, S.J., so well known at Farm Street, was the first Archbishop of Bombay. His published letters show how much vexation arose from the unsettled claims of the Goanese, and from their antagonistic spirit. In one letter he sketches the question thus : *

In old times, when Portugal was great and Catholic, the Popes gave to the archbishops of Goa a most extraordinary jurisdiction, extending over all the East. When Portugal fell into insignificance she clung to this jurisdiction and refused to surrender it, or any portion of it, to the Pope himself. The old Goanese clergy were learned and good, but their successors were too often neither learned nor good. The native Christians are sincerely attached to Portugal, or rather to the native clergy of Goa, who are clever enough to identify themselves with Portugal. Portuguese is encouraged, much to the injury of our Christians, who would gain by learning English. The native—I mean the descendants of Hindoos converted by St. Francis Xavier and his successors—Christian or not Christian, don't like the foreigner; and the name of a propagandist priest rouses the native Christian easily. Leo XIII. has made great concessions to Portugal, but he has laid the foundation of a new and better order of things. The designing men who lead the native Christians won't give up their game without a struggle. They talk of building an opposition cathedral and seminary in Bombay. So far I have maintained a masterly inactivity, and my ignoring their intrigues and themselves has somewhat paralysed them. But the time is near when they must do something or die. I look out for a lively time.

This letter was written by Archbishop Porter, on July 18th, 1887. In the following year Cardinal Rampolla wrote to the papal delegate in India denouncing a newspaper called *O Anglo-Lusitano*, which stirred up opposition to the new hierarchy, and Archbishop Porter at once issued a pastoral against this newspaper, as also did Archbishop Colgan of Madras.

The Goanese party did not relax their efforts, and further concessions were made by the Holy See, the Bishop of Damaun obtaining jurisdiction within the City of Bombay over certain churches that formerly were Goanese, and the Bishop of Mylapore obtaining jurisdiction over four churches in Madras. These concessions, though perhaps necessary in the temper

* Archbishop Porter's Letters, p. 283.

shown by the Goanese Christians, have revived many of the difficulties which were felt in the time of the "double jurisdiction."

The above plain narrative of the history of this question shows that what the Catholics of British India dislike is the use of the Royal patronage of the King of Portugal as an impediment to the carrying out of what the Holy See discerns to be best for the Church in India. There is no antipathy to the Portuguese or to foreigners, as such. Almost all the bishops and priests of European race in India are of foreign birth. The archbishop of the enormous diocese of Pondicherry is a Frenchman, living upon French territory, although his diocese is, for the most part, in British India. But the peculiarity of the Portuguese clergy is that, even in territory which was never under Portugal or which had passed from Portuguese sway more than two centuries ago, they inculcate loyalty to the Most Faithful king as a duty, and refuse to obey the decrees of the Holy See unless they come through Lisbon. If all worked together harmoniously for the common object, if all had a single eye for the advancement of the missions in this dark country, the Goanese clergy would be welcome, as are all fellow-labourers in a good cause, but the Royal *placet* which hinders obedience to decrees from Rome, the popular dislike of Propaganda which the Goanese clergy have fostered, and the continual friction about jurisdiction, which must exist when there is no territorial division, are jarring elements which every sincere well-wisher of the Catholic Church would gladly see disappear. It may be thought that the difficulties about jurisdiction are exaggerated, but those persons know better who have resided in an Indian station where there was a Catholic missionary and also a Goanese priest with his separate chapel. Imagine such a divided jurisdiction in Britain. Imagine Glasgow, with the Catholics of Irish descent and the Catholics of Scottish descent, under different prelates. Imagine London, with all Catholics of French descent under a separate jurisdiction, and the churches at Portman Square and Leicester Square under a French bishop. What endless friction would arise!

There is no motive of ill-will to the Portuguese in discussing this subject. The Portuguese in India have in many respects a noble record, and much of the sentimental veneration of a lover

of antiquity clings to the Portuguese missions. At Mylapore they hold the hallowed precincts, where a pious legend teaches that S. Thomas, the Apostle, suffered martyrdom. At Goa rests the body of S. Francis Xavier. The Goanese are thus the custodians, so to speak, of the holy places in India—the guardians of the two saints who are the apostles and patrons of Indian missions. Not only do the Portuguese inherit the fame of the Eastern Empire of Lisbon, but they also share in the glory of the Western Empire of Madrid, and the extension of the Catholic faith in the new world. The triple Mass, which every Goanese priest celebrates on November 2nd, reminds us that Portugal for a time was included in that Spanish empire which obtained this great privilege. Such was Portugal once, and such may Portugal be again; but admiration of what was done in the sixteenth century by Portugal cannot hide the ravages of the neglect shown by her in the eighteenth century. When one travels through the country and comes upon the ruins of mission churches, when one visits the presidency capitals and finds honoured Portuguese names—D'Cruz, D'Silva, Rosaria, Pereira, Brito—borne by Protestant descendants, who have been suffered to lapse from the faith, when one sees the scandal caused to Protestants and non-Christians by the dissensions which arise from the maintenance of the phantom of the departed Portuguese supremacy in the East, one cannot but feel that Portugal has heavy indictment to answer at the bar of history, and that she hinders, instead of helping, the cause of the mission in India. It may, hereafter, be otherwise. The Portuguese Sees in India are no longer administered by a Goanese vicar-general, but each is now filled by a Portuguese bishop whom the Most Faithful King has at last sent out to India. These zealous prelates may succeed in elevating the Goanese clergy towards the European standard of sacerdotal efficiency, and if the ancient claims of Portugal can be laid aside dissensions may cease. In the Portuguese calendar very special honour is paid to S. Elizabeth, who had—as we read in her *Office* of July 8th—a special gift of pacification. May the intercession of this sainted queen prevail.

Putting aside the welfare of the Catholic missions in India and viewing the matter simply as a political question, it appears to be discourteous to the British Crown that the King

of Portugal should nominate bishops in British India. After territory has passed to another monarch it would seem that such rights of patronage cease. To take the latest instance of cession of territory, the French Government does not, since the cession of Alsace, nominate the Archbishop of Strasburg. It may be said on behalf of the Portuguese claims, that the British Government is not a Catholic Government; but the King of France never put forward such claims in Lower Canada or in Louisiana, and the King of Spain does not claim ecclesiastical patronage in Florida or California. If all Governments were of the pertinacious temper which the Court of Lisbon has shown in this matter, the British Government (supposing it to be Catholic) might claim to exercise ecclesiastical patronage in Calais.

G. T. MACKENZIE.

ART. IV.—“THE AUTHORSHIP AND COMPOSITION OF THE HEXATEUCH.”

BEFORE proceeding further in our account of the now dominant modern critical view concerning the composition of the Pentateuch and Josue, we think it well to point out the exact standpoint, which we have intended to maintain in our last, and now in this our concluding article. Though critics put forward these combinations as a thesis, as a finally demonstrated piece of history, yet we propose them, but as an hypothesis, which would seem to explain and harmonise the many conflicting facts of the case to a degree calling for the serious and studious attention of the Catholic theologian and critic. Even if a solemn decision of the Church or the unanimous teaching of theologians had or were to put it out of court for a Catholic's acceptance, it would still demand the Catholic's special and careful study with a view to finding the flaw in the argument, and to substituting another hypothesis, which, while fully orthodox, should be equally compatible with the facts to be explained. Such a decision of the Church, whether unknown to us in the past, or still to come in the future, we loyally and completely accept beforehand; indeed, the ordinary teaching of theologians we gladly admit to be in itself obligatory, when and where it clearly combines the four requirements of being on a subject of Faith and Morals; of being on a point formally and fully under discussion; of being unanimous; of declaring a doctrine *de fide*, or, on the contrary, as heretical.

We hardly see how the points raised by the hypothesis under discussion could have already been so touched by theologians. We hope, then, to do a service by putting this theory, respectable on the ground of some of its spokesmen, of its learning, and its apparently strong applicability, before the theological reader, in a form sufficiently drastic and positive to rouse and stimulate his attention and careful consideration. May it lead him to that close detailed study and sifting of the evidence, which, as alone deciding whether there

is a case in court at all, must remain the necessary preliminary to deciding, whether and how far this, or another particular solution, is or is not compatible with doctrinal decisions and Catholic requirements.

From the fact that the Book of the Covenant, and the Deuteronomic Thorah do not coincide in their regulations regarding the place of public worship, critics, as we have seen in our previous article, infer that the latter code in its present form cannot well be assigned to Moses. Yet Deuteronomy xxxi. 9 contains the statement, not less emphatic than that which declares the Mosaic authorship of the Book of the Covenant, declaring that "Moses wrote the Thorah," which he had explained to the people in the plain of Moab. No doubt the authority and evidence of such a statement may not be lightly set aside.

Moreover, there are no arguments which prove conclusively that the Deuteronomic Thorah is in its substance the product of a post-mosaic age, and that Moses never spoke nor wrote the impressive oration of which Deuteronomy may well represent a more or less free reproduction. On the contrary, it is but natural that Moses, knowing that his time for departing had come, should have addressed a last discourse to the people whose chief he had been for forty years, and whose welfare had been the constant object of his mind and heart. Knowing, as he alone could know, how intimately Israel's prosperity was dependent on the observance of God's law, it would indeed have been strange, had he not set forth and explained that law to the people, exhorting them in strong and earnest language to be faithful in observing it. Modern critics then can draw from the discrepancy between the Book of the Covenant and the Deuteronomic Thorah, no further conclusion than that the original address of Moses was at a later date reformulated—*i.e.*, that its phraseology was changed, perhaps into one more suitable to the time of its reformulation, and that some of its disciplinary laws were remodelled and expanded with a view of meeting more present needs.

The question now arises as to the age in which the Deuteronomic Thorah was reformulated. Critics seem to agree that this reformulation was not effected before the close of the eighth century. They can find no sufficient sign that before

that time the law prescribing unity of Sanctuary was in existence. On the contrary, the practice of sacrificing in different places during the period from Moses to the reign of King Ezechias (728 B.C.) makes it difficult for them to suppose that such a law existed. The compilers of the Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings have recorded some instances of this practice. In some cases, the instance narrated leads critics to infer that the sacrifice in question was not a solitary and exceptional event, but one of common usage. We will produce some of the instances which are usually brought forward.

During the period of the Judges the "House of Jehovah," or the "Tent of Meeting," which, according to the Deuteronomic law, would have been the only legitimate sanctuary for sacrificing, appears to have been at Silo. In Silo we find the two sons of Heli, Ophni and Phinees, doing service "as priests unto the Lord," and thither Elcana, an Ephraimite, goes to offer sacrifices to the Lord (1 Kings i. 1-4). Yet we read that the people sacrificed at Bochim, where an angel had appeared to them and had rebuked them for making a covenant with the heathen inhabitants, and for not breaking down their altars (Judges ii. 5); and that, during and after the campaign against the tribe of Benjamin, the Israelites gathered at Bethel, and offered their sacrifices and built an altar (Judges xx. 26-28; and xxi. 2-4). In neither of these two cases were the people censured for doing this. Of Judge Gedeon it is said that he built an altar at Ephra, where the angel of the Lord had appeared to him (Judges vi. 24).

During the administration of Samuel and the reign of Saul, the ark of Jehovah abode at Gabaa (1 Kings vii. 2); while probably the sanctuary was removed to Nobe. In either of these two places, therefore, Samuel and Saul would be expected to offer their sacrifices. Yet we read of Samuel that he built himself an altar at Ramatha, where he lived (1 Kings vii. 17). At Masphath Samuel offered a sacrifice that the Israelites might obtain the victory over the Philistines (1 Kings vii. 9). Saul's first encounter with Samuel took place on the occasion of a sacrificial feast, which the people were celebrating on a high place, and in which both took part (1 Kings ix. 12-14). On the occasion that Saul was

made King the people offer sacrifices at Galgal in the presence of Samuel (1 Kings xi. 15). Saul himself offers sacrifice at Galgal, and is upbraided by Samuel, not for having done this, but because he had not awaited Samuel's arrival (1 Kings xiii. 9). After his victory over the Philistines, Saul builds an altar unto Jehovah, apparently at Ailon, and the narrator remarks that this was the time that "he first began to build an altar" (1 Kings xiv. 35).

Concerning David, we read that he went away from the court of Saul to be present at a sacrifice which his family were celebrating at Bethlehem (1 Kings xx. 29). Absalom asks leave from David, his father, to go to Hebron for the purpose of bringing a vow-offering (2 Kings xv. 7), notwithstanding the ark then was at Jerusalem, whither the king had brought it from the house of Aminadab at Gabaon (2 Kings vi. 1-17). And, finally, of Solomon it is recorded that he offered a magnificent sacrifice upon the great high place at Gabaon. "And the king went to Gabaon to sacrifice there, for that was the great high place, a thousand victims for holocausts did Solomon offer upon the altar at Gabaon" (3 Kings iii. 4). This sacrifice of Solomon must have been pleasing to God, for it was on that occasion at Gabaon that God appeared to him (v. 5).

Also, after the Temple of Jerusalem was built, the people continue to sacrifice at various places. The prophet Elias "repairs the altar of Jehovah" at Carmel on the solemn occasion that he puts the prophets and priests of Baal to shame (3 Kings xviii. 30). At Horeb he accuses his people before Jehovah for having destroyed Jehovah's altars. "And he said: I have been very zealous for the Lord, the God of Hosts, for the children of Israel have forsaken Thy covenant, destroyed Thy altars, and they have slain Thy prophets with the sword" (3 Kings xix. 14). The hills or high places (Bamoth), shaded by oaks and terebinths, appear to have been the more favourite spots. "They offer," says the prophet Osee, "sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under the oak, poplar, and terebinth, because the shadow is good" (Osee iv. 13). Not even among the pious kings Joas, Amasias, Ozias, and Joatham were the high places abolished, though the compiler of the Books of Kings, from his

Deuteronomic standpoint, designates their toleration as unlawful (4 Kings xii. 3; xiv. 4; xv. 4; xv. 35).

Amos and Osee, prophets of the eighth century, raise, it is true, a warning and threatening voice against the high places, and the altars thereon. "The high places also of Aven," says Osee, "the sin of Israel, shall be destroyed, the thorn and the thistle shall grow up over their altars; and they shall say unto the mountains cover us, and to the hills fall on us." (Osee x. 8). But on the whole their warning seems not so much directed against the custom itself of sacrificing on the high places as against the idolatry into which this custom repeatedly degenerated. "Because Ephraim," says Osee, "hath multiplied altars unto sin, altars became unto him to sin" (Osee viii. 11). It would seem, therefore, that the preaching of the prophets of the eighth century (Amos, Osee, Micheas) against the high places does not presuppose unity of sanctuary, though no doubt it was a first step in the direction leading to it; an attempt, though still indefinite, to bring it about. In a similar manner, according to Dr. Kuenen, must be explained the fact that King Ezechias (726-696 B.C.) destroyed the high places (4 Kings xxi. 3). For, if this measure of Ezechias had been sanctioned by law, it would have produced a more lasting effect, and the people would not have been so easily seduced by Manasses, Ezechias' successor, into their old custom of erecting altars and of sacrificing on the high places (4 Kings xxi. 9). Indeed, according to Dr. Kuenen, the custom of sacrificing on the high places was even in the reign of Ezechias still considered by the people as lawful. How otherwise could the Assyrian general, Rabshakeh, have used Ezechias' measure against the high places as an argument to prove to the inhabitants of Jerusalem that from Jehovah no help could be expected? "But if ye say to me, we trust in Jehovah our God; is it not He whose high places and altars Ezechias has taken away, saying to Jerusalem and to Judah you shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem." (4 Kings xviii. 22).

Though, therefore, towards the end of the eighth century the reformulation of the Deuteronomic Thorah had not yet been effected, it must have been accomplished before the seventh century came to its close. For the law enforcing absolute

centralisation of cultus was contained in that copy of the Deuteronomic Torah which the high priest, Helcias, found in the temple in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Josias (about 620 B.C.), and which was solemnly read before the king by Saphan the scribe (4 Kings xxii.) The discovery of this copy of the Deuteronomic law, of which the contents so deeply moved the king, became the occasion of a great religious reformation, which Josias effected throughout Juda and Samaria (4 Kings xxiii.) for the end of abolishing whatever was not in harmony with this law. "There was no king," says the narrator, "before him like unto him, that turned unto the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him." One of the principal reforming measures of Josias was to destroy the high places both in Juda and in Israel, and to put to death or to bring to Jerusalem the priests who had served at their sanctuaries, the former in honour of heathen gods, the latter in honour of Jehovah. "And he brought all the priests out of the cities of Juda (viz., to Jerusalem), and he defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense from Gabaa to Bersabee" (4 Kings xxiii. 8). "And all the houses also of the high places that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke the Lord, Josias took away. . . . And he slew all the priests of the high places that were there upon the altars" (4 Kings xxiii. 19-20). As, no doubt, all this was done by Josias in obedience to the Deuteronomic Torah which had been read to him, it follows that this Torah must have contained statutes restricting the entire sacrificial worship to one place.

Though it is doubtful whether, under the two successors of Josias, Joakim and Joachin, the unity of sanctuary was rigorously maintained, yet critics are of opinion that Josias' reformatory measure regarding the high places was, on the whole, successful, and of lasting influence. They consequently think it but natural that Ezechiel, who himself had been a priest in the Temple of Jerusalem, and who prophesied not long after the reign of Josias in the beginning of the Babylonian captivity, denounced the bamoth as unlawful:

Therefore, Son of Man, speak to the House of Israel, and say to them: In this also have your fathers reviled Me, by committing perfidy against

Me. For when I brought them to the land concerning which I had lifted up Mine hand that I would give it to them, then they saw every high hill, and every shady tree, and they offered there their sacrifices, and they presented there the provocation of their offerings, and they made there their sweet savour, and they poured out there their drink offerings. And I said to them: What meaneth the high place whereunto ye go? and the name thereof is called Bamah unto this day (Ezech. xx. 28, 29).

Accordingly Ezechiel acknowledges only one place, "God's holy mountain," and one sanctuary, Jerusalem's temple, where sacrifices acceptable to God can be offered:

For on my holy mountain, on the mountain of the height of Israel, says the Lord God, there shall all the House of Israel, all of them, serve me in the land: there will I accept them, and there will I require your oblations, and the firstlings of your offerings with all your holy things (Ezech. xx. 40).

The inference from all this, drawn by the critics, is as follows; The seventh century is the age in which the Deuteronomic Torah was reformulated, and received its present form. This fact alone would suffice to explain the influence which the Deuteronomic Torah has exercised upon the literature of that age. Moreover, its wonderful discovery in the Temple, the deep impression it made on King Josias when it was read to him, the approbation it received from the prophetess Holda, and, finally, the reformation which it caused throughout Juda and Samaria, are circumstances which could not fail to make its influence deeply felt.

Its influence [says Dr. Driver] upon subsequent writers is clear and indisputable. It is remarkable now that the earlier prophets, Amos, Osee, and the indisputable portions of Isaias, show no certain traces of this influence; Jeremias exhibits marks of it on every page nearly; Sopbonias and Ezechiel are also closely influenced by it. If Deuteronomy were composed in the period between Isaias and Jeremias (*i.e.*, between the beginning and end of the seventh century) these facts would be accounted for (Introduction, p. 83).

Though the reasons why the Deuteronomic Torah was reformulated cannot be precisely known, the supposition is that this reformulation was chiefly intended to be a means completely to abolish all idolatry in Israel. Experience had shown that the idolatrous practices of the people could not be effectually suppressed unless their sanctuaries were kept under strict control. But this control could not produce the result

expected from it as long as all sacrificial worship was not restricted to the Temple of Jerusalem. Without unity of sanctuary it was impossible to extinguish in the people their inclination towards idolatry. For this object the zealous worshippers of Jehovah, particularly the prophets and priests, desired that the practice of sacrificing in different places, a practice which, as we have seen, the Book of the Covenant did not condemn, should be forbidden by law, and that the claims of preference, which until then the central sanctuary had enjoyed, should be changed into claims of exclusive right. That instead of the Book of the Covenant they chose for their purpose the Deuteronomic Thorah may be explained by supposing that the final address which Moses spoke enjoyed more popular authority, and that in this address Moses had, with greater emphasis than in the Book of the Covenant, indicated that preference should be shown to a central sanctuary. If these suppositions are in harmony with history, the work of the reformulators appears to have been not so much a work of altering than of completely developing the Thorah according to the mind and intention of its first promulgator.

The conclusion which has been obtained concerning the age of Deuteronomy forms a basis from which critics can proceed to investigate the age to which the reduction of the Priestly Code would be assigned. We have already seen that the Priestly Code is said to be of later date than the Deuteronomic Thorah. It follows that as Deuteronomy, in its present form, is made to date from the seventh century, so the redaction of the Priestly Code, in its present form, would belong to a still later period—viz., to that of the Exile.

The inference that the Priestly Code in its present state did not exist before the Exile is strengthened by a second argument which, though of a negative kind, possesses great weight. Critics tell us that the pre-exilic literature of Israel furnishes no ground for supposing that there existed a law distinguishing the "Sons of Aaron," as the only legitimate priests, from the Levites, as inferior ministers. The only passage, "even these did *the priests and the Levites bring up*" (3 Kings viii. 4), which, at first sight, would seem to favour such a distinction is held by critics to be a gloss. For the significant omission in the LXX. of the clause quoted above

makes it almost certain that it did not form part of the original text.

This negative argument is followed by a positive argument taken from the writings of the Prophet Ezechiel. Ezechiel is said to be the first who makes a precise distinction between Levites and priests. Yet the distinction which he makes has certain peculiarities which convince critics that the legal distinction made in the Priestly Code (Numb. xviii.) was unknown to him, and consequently did not yet exist. The passage from which we can best learn what notion Ezechiel had concerning the distinction between priests and Levites is the section: chapter xlv. 10-16.

But the Levites that went away far from Me, when Israel went astray, which went astray from Me after their idols, they shall bear their iniquity (v. 11), and they shall be ministers in My sanctuary, having charge of the gates of the house, and ministering in the house; they shall slay the burnt offering and the victim for the people, and they shall stand before them to minister unto them. (12) Because they ministered to them before their idols, and were a stumbling-block of iniquity to the House of Israel: therefore have I lifted up My hand against them, saith the Lord God, and they shall bear their iniquity. (13) And they shall not come near unto Me to do the office of priest unto Me, nor to come near to any of My holy things, unto the things which are most holy: but they shall bear their shame and their abominations which they have committed. (15) But the priests the Levites, the sons of Sadoc, who kept the charge of My sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from Me, they shall come near Me to minister unto Me; and they shall stand before Me to offer Me the fat and the blood, saith the Lord God; they shall enter into My sanctuary, and they shall approach My table to minister unto me, and they shall keep My charge.

From this passage [says Dr. Driver] seems to follow incontrovertibly that the Levites generally had heretofore (in direct conflict with the provision of P.) enjoyed priestly rights (v. 13): for the future, however, such as had participated in the idolatrous worship of the high places are to be deprived of these rights, and condemned to perform the menial offices which had hitherto been performed by foreigners; only those Levites who had been faithful in their loyalty to Jehovah, viz., the sons of Sadoc, are henceforth to retain priestly privileges (v. 15). Had the Levites not enjoyed such rights, the prohibition in v. 13 would be superfluous. The supposition that they may have simply *usurped* them is inconsistent with the passage as a whole, which charges the Levites, not with *usurping* rights which they did not possess, but with *abusing* rights which they did possess.

In these few words Dr. Driver has set forth with great

lucidity the views of Ezechiel concerning the priests and Levites.

From what he has said it would seem to follow that the regulation given by Ezechiel differs from that of the Priestly Code in two points: (1) While, according to the law of the Priestly Code (Numbers xviii.) the Levites are not assumed to possess the priestly rights, because they had not been chosen by God, they have, according to Ezechiel, once possessed those rights, but subsequently lost them through abuse. (2) While in Ezechiel the rights of the priesthood are given to the House of Sadoc, they are in the Priestly Code traced back to that of Aaron. These differences could hardly be accounted for if the regulation of the Priestly Code (Numbers xviii.) were already in existence at the time of Ezechiel. If, on the other hand, it is granted that this regulation of the Priestly Code was made after the time of Ezechiel, those differences disappear, and the course in which the hierarchy of priests and Levites has developed itself becomes clear and intelligible. Before the reformation of Josias the members of the tribe of Levi appear to have been indiscriminately allowed to exercise the sacerdotal duties. When Josias abolished the high places, he brought those of the priests whom he had spared to Jerusalem. These Bamoth priests were not admitted to the service of the altar. "Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of the Lord in Jerusalem, but they did eat their portion among their brethren" (4 Kings xxiii. 9). Excluded from the exercise of the priesthood, yet not choosing to live on the mere charity of their brethren, the Bamoth priests naturally commenced to take charge of the inferior duties of the temple. This anomalous state of affairs Ezechiel explains and justifies by a temporary regulation in which the claims to the priesthood are restricted to the House of Sadoc. When, after Ezechiel, the ancient Mosaic institutions were reformulated and collected into the present Priestly Code, Ezechiel's regulation, after it had undergone an immaterial modification, would have been incorporated, confirmed, and sanctioned with Mosaic authority.

Just as the beginning of the Exile (about 600 B.C.) would form the *terminus a quo*, the return of Esdras (458 B.C.) furnishes, according to Kuenen, a *terminus ad quem* of the

period in the interval of which the redaction of the Priestly Code, in its present state, was, to a great extent, accomplished. For, from the account of the doings of Nehemias and Esdras, it appears that in their days some of the priestly laws, which would seem to have been unknown to the Deuteronomist, were promulgated and introduced. For instance, a precise distinction is made by Esdras and Nehemias between the Levites and the "priests, the sons of Aaron" (Nehem. xii. 47). Indeed, according to Kuenen, the new order of things, which after the Exile Esdras and Nehemias undertook to establish, was based principally upon the enactments of the Priestly Code. Dr. Driver, in a more general manner, assigns as the *terminus ad quem* the age in which the Books of Chronicles were written, (about 300 B.C.) For, just as the Deuteronomic Thorah "determines the attitude which the compiler of Kings, writing at the close of the monarchy, maintains towards the high places, so do the regulations of the Priestly Code form the standard by which the chronicler consistently judges the earlier history of Israel."

As to the more precise age in which the regulations of the Law of Holiness, which, though with additions from the Priestly Code, is contained in the section Lev. xvii.-xxvi. were collected and received their parenetic framework, critics do not agree. Wellhausen and Kuenen assign the compilation both of the Law of Holiness and of the Priestly Code to the Exile. Both collections are, according to Kuenen, a continuation of the work which Ezechiel had commenced. In the last nine chapters (xl.-xlviii.), containing an ideal description of the Temple and its service, Ezechiel had begun to write down and to collect some of the sacerdotal traditions. In this path, says Kuenen, Ezechiel's fellow-priests and exiles followed. A first product of their labour we possess in the Law of Holiness, a more perfect one in the Priestly Code. Dr. Driver, on the other hand, with greater probability, is inclined to hold that the compiler of the Law of Holiness lived prior to Ezechiel. For, thus, he thinks it easier to account for the remarkable similarity of phraseology between the writings of this prophet and the Law of Holiness. Indeed, though on the whole the Priestly Code bears affinity of language to the writings of Ezechiel, it is especially the Law of Holiness of

which the phraseology exhibits the most significant points of resemblance. This conformity of phraseology has made so striking an impression upon some critics that they have considered Ezechiel the compiler of the Law of Holiness. But, in assigning the compilation of the Law of Holiness to Ezechiel, they have allowed themselves to be carried too far by the strength of a merely linguistic argument. For the similarity of phraseology is sufficiently explained when, with Dr. Driver, it is held that the Law of Holiness existed at first separately from the other priestly laws, and that Ezechiel knew it, used it, and imitated it.

When critics relegate the compilation of the Priestly Code to the Exilic, or even post-Exilic period, they in no way intend to represent the priestly legislation as an entirely new creation of that age. A great many of the priestly laws are of the highest antiquity. Of many the existence can be traced in pre-Exilic literature. The law, for instance, on clean and unclean animals, is virtually identical in Deuteronomy xiv. 13-20 and Leviticus xi. 2-22; again, the law for leprosy, Leviticus xiii., xiv., is clearly referred to in the following passage of Deuteronomy xxiv. 8: "Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that you observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you; as I commanded them, so ye shall observe to do."

That regulations, distinguishing different kinds of sacrifices, and prescribing their various ceremonies (Lev. i.-vii.), as also laws requiring that certain days should be kept as feastdays (Lev. xxiii.) existed in pre-Exilic times, is guaranteed by passages from the earliest prophets. Isaias, reproaching the people for the bad disposition wherewith they brought their offerings, and kept the feastdays of Jehovah, speaks as follows: "Give ear to the law of our God, Gomorrah nation! What is the multitude of your slain offerings to Me, saith Jehovah? I am satiated with holocausts of rams, and the fat of fatlings; and blood of calves and lambs and goats. I do not like (v. 14) your new moons, and your festive seasons My soul hateth; they have become a burden to Me" (Isaias i. 11-14). In like manner, Amos (iv. 5) mentions "sacrifices of thanksgiving" (תּוֹרָה, Lev. vii. 11), "and freewill offerings (נִדְבָה, Lev. vii. 16). "And offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving of what is

leavened, and proclaim freewill offerings and make them heard." In another passage, he mentions "burnt-offerings" (עֹלָה, Lev. ch. i.), "meal offerings" (מִנְחָה, Lev. chap. ii.), "and peace offerings" (שְׁלָמִים, Lev. chap. 3). "But, if ye offer Me burnt-offerings, and your meal offerings, I will not receive them: neither will I regard the peace offering of your fat beasts" (Amos v. 22).

If it is once acknowledged that there are in the Priestly Code statutes which are older than the Deuteronomic Thorah, and the writings of the earliest prophets, and in harmony with the history of Israel's religion, then there is no reason why we should not consider them as the work of Moses. Indeed, it is necessary to admit this, for otherwise it would be difficult to explain why the name of Moses should ever have become attached to the Priestly Code. Very true, then, is the remark of Dr. Driver :

It cannot be doubted that Moses was the ultimate founder of both the national and religious life of Israel; and that he provided his people not only with the nucleus of a system of civil ordinances, but also with a system of ceremonial ordinances, designed as the expression and concomitant of the religious and ethical duties involved in the people's relation to its national (?) God" (Driver, p. 144).

It would not be fair, therefore, to say that, according to the theory of modern critics, the priestly laws were manufactured in the Exile. Even Kuenen holds that the priestly laws, though written down and collected in the Exile, were based upon pre-Exilic customs, in particular upon those that were observed in the Temple at Jerusalem. When, therefore, the period of the Exile is designated as the age of the priestly legislation, all that is meant by modern critics is that during that period the already existing laws were collected, and placed in an historical framework, that some of them were remodelled and developed to meet present needs, and that all were cast in a technical phraseology common and peculiar to the priests of that age. It is, moreover, important here to notice that the critical conclusions, as set forth in this article, concerning the re-formulation and compilation of the laws of the Pentateuch, do not necessarily affect its history. The conclusion that the law, absolutely restricting the priestly prerogatives to one family, is of later date, and that at first the whole tribe of Levi might have

been endowed with equal rights, does not gainsay the history that the actual exercise of the priesthood was, during the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, entrusted to the House of Aaron. An actual working distinction between Aaronites and Levites may well have existed in the time of Moses, though in subsequent ages it was not observed, and though the law enacting and enforcing it was not promulgated before the Exile.

A few words still remain to be said on the authorship and composition of the historical portion of the Hexateuch. It is now generally admitted among critics that the historical part of the Hexateuch is composed of three chief elements, viz., the priestly narrative which, as we will presently see, forms, with the Priestly Code, one integral work, and the Jehovistic and Elohist documents. The priestly narrative is indicated by the letter P, the Jehovistic and Elohist documents by the letters J and E.

As the composition of the historical part of the Hexateuch has already been explained, and to a certain extent also defended by Canon Howlett, in his able article, "Moses and the Pentateuch," we can restrict ourselves to the task of producing, by way of example, one argument out of the many on which the critical conclusion is based. We have chosen, as our example, the two accounts of the creation which are contained in the first two chapters of Genesis, because the contents of these chapters are well known, even in detail. The first account is contained in the section ch. i. 1-ii. 4^a; it opens with the general statement: "In the beginning Elohim created the heavens and the earth," and closes with the words, "These are the generations of the heaven and the earth, when they were created" (ii. 4^a). The second account (ii. 4^b-22), opens with the words: "On the day that Jehovah Elohim made heaven and earth (ii. 4^b) no plant of the field was yet upon the earth, and no herb of the field had as yet sprung up" (ii. 5^a); and concludes with the words, "And Jehovah Elohim built the rib which he had taken from the man into a woman, and brought her to the man" (ii. 22). These two accounts, critics say, are from two different authors, because of the difference of order, style, and language. The first account is from the priestly narrator, the second is from the Jehovist.

In the account of the priestly narrator, the creation of plants precedes that of the animals, and the creation of animals that of man. In the account of the Jehovist, on the other hand, man is created first. That there was no man to till the ground, and that no rain had fallen, were, according to the Jehovist, two reasons why no vegetation was upon the earth. "No plant of the field was yet upon the earth, and no herb of the field had as yet sprung up; for Jehovah Elohim had not yet caused it to rain upon the earth, and men there were not to till the ground" (ii. 5). These two conditions then are effected, a heavy mist drenches the earth, and man is created: "And a mist went up from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground. And Jehovah Elohim formed man out of the dust of the ground" (ii. 6, 7). After the two conditions have been fulfilled, the Jehovist proceeds to narrate the creation of the plants: "And Jehovah Elohim planted a garden in Eden eastward; and placed therein the man whom he had formed. And Jehovah Elohim made to spring out of the earth every kind of tree pleasant to the sight and good for food" (ii. 8, 9). After the creation of plants follows that of animals: "And Jehovah Elohim formed out of the ground every wild beast of the field, and every fowl of the heaven" (ii. 19). Last of all, the woman is created: "And Jehovah Elohim built the rib which he had taken from the man into a woman, and brought her to the man" (ii. 22).

This difference of order in enumerating the creatures, which, if both sections were by the same author, it would be difficult to reconcile, is merely a difference of form or representation which, when the peculiarities of style of both narrators are taken into consideration, can easily be accounted for. Each of the two narrators had formed his own plan for writing the history of the creation, and executed that plan in a manner proper to his individual character and turn of mind. The manner in which the priestly narrator executed his plan is systematic and orderly. This systematic method of proceeding clearly shows itself in the so-called Hexaëmeron, or creation in six days. The underlying plan of the Hexaëmeron is simple. The narrator enumerates eight creative works, viz., light, the firmament, the dry land, the plants, the stars, the

air and water animals, the land animals, and man. In this enumeration there is an unmistakable ascent from what is less perfect to what is more perfect. Light precedes the creation of the stars; the creation of plants is previous to that of the animals; the creation of the lower animals (fishes and birds) is followed by that of the mammalia; and with the creation of man the series is brought to a close.

It is said that to this manner of conceiving the genesis of created things science on the whole has given its confirmation. Though this may be true, yet it is doubtful whether harmony between the physical sciences and the Hexaëmeron was the primary object which the narrator had in view. It seems more likely that, by placing the creatures in an ascending series the narrator intended to indicate the exalted place which among the other creatures was assigned to man. Hence the creation of man does not commence with the ordinary "fiat" addressed to the earth, as was the case with the plants and animals, but with a majestic declaration of the Divine will: "And Elohim said, Let us make man in our image and after our likeness; and let him have dominion over the fish of the sea, &c." (i. 26).

The narrator, moreover, intended to give an orderly exposition of the creation, such an one as could be easily understood and remembered. For that purpose he has represented the creation as being accomplished in six days, each day containing a distinct creative work. The six days are divided into two groups of three days. For the eight creative works are distributed over the six days in such manner that the last day of each triad comprises two works, viz., the third day comprises the separation of the dry land and the creation of plants, the sixth day the creation both of land animals, and of man. The relation between the two groups evidently is that of subordination. The works of the first triad form a substratum to those of the second triad; on the days of the first triad the regions or territories, which the creatures of the second triad were to inhabit, were made and prepared. Hence the whole Hexaëmeron is so arranged that the creative works of the second triad correspond with the parallel works of the first triad. With the first day, the creation of light, corresponds the fourth day, the creation of the light-giving bodies; with the

second day, the creation of the vault of heaven dividing the waters from the waters, corresponds the fifth day, the creation of the birds flying "on the face of the firmament of heaven," and of the animals in the water; with the third day, the appearance of the dry land and of the vegetable world, corresponds the sixth day, the creation of the land animals and of man.

The reader will have noticed that this parallelism between the days of the two groups furnishes an obvious answer to the antiquated objection that it is impossible that the creation of the plants should have preceded that of the sun. Though no doubt there might have been vegetation caused by other heat and light than that produced by the sun, yet it is more probable that the creation of the plants was assigned to the third day, because the plants, preparing the territory which land animals and man were to inhabit, belonged, not to the second group, but to the first.

Very different in form is the account of the creation which the Jehovist has written. Instead of a systematic enumeration he has given a picturesque description. In his account, man is the central point of the creation round whom the other creatures are successively grouped. The creation of man is first spoken of, not because man was really first created, but because the narrator is bent upon showing that the other creatures, plants, and animals were made only for the sake of man. The order which the Jehovist observes in his account is not an *ordo executionis*, but an *ordo intentionis*—i.e., he does not enumerate the creatures according to the order in which they were created, but he mentions man first because man is the primary object intended by God; and for the use and happiness of man the other creatures are destined. Hence the reason why there "was no plant upon the earth" is because "there was no man to till the ground." Having described the creation of man, the Jehovist proceeds to narrate the creation of the plants. But the creation of the vegetable world has no importance for the Jehovist, except in so far as the plants and trees were necessary to prepare for man an abode of pleasure and delight. In his account, therefore, the creation of plants is, at the same time, the formation of Paradise. "And Jehovah Elohim planted a garden in Eden eastward, and placed therein the man whom He had formed.

And Jehovah Elohim made to spring out of the earth every kind of tree pleasant to the sight and good for food; and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and of evil" (ii. 8, 9). For the purpose of showing the eminent fertility and luxurious vegetation of this garden, the Jehovist, following the drift of his imagery, describes Paradise as watered by a stream of which the four rivers, the Euphrates, Tigris, Gihon (Nile), and Pishon (Indus), renowned in antiquity for the fertility of their waters, were merely four branches.

The narrator having developed the account of the planting of Paradise, then describes the placing of man therein. "And Jehovah Elohim took the man and placed him in the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it" (ii. 15). But God saw that it was "not good that man should be alone," and he resolved to "make him a help meet for him" (ii. 18). The animals therefore are created. "And Jehovah Elohim formed out of the ground every wild beast of the field, and every fowl of the heaven, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called it, the living creature, that was to be its name" (ii. 19). Yet the end which God had in view—viz., to provide an associate for man, has not been obtained. The narrator informs us that among the animals to which the man had given names "there was not found a help meet for him" (ii. 20). Consequently the woman is created. "Then Jehovah Elohim caused sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept. And He took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh in its stead. And Jehovah Elohim built the rib which he had taken from the man into a woman, and brought her to the man" (xx. 21, 22).

The priestly narrative formed, before it was combined with the Jehovistic and Elohist fragments, an uninterrupted history, commencing with the creation of the world, and ending with the occupation of Chanaan. The thread of this history is, especially in Genesis, still visible, notwithstanding parts of it have been suppressed by the compiler to make place for the fuller descriptions of the Elohist or Jehovist. About the character and peculiarities of the priestly narrative critics have much to say, but want of space prevents us from entering into those questions. A few words, however, must

be said about the age in which it is supposed that the narrative was written.

The priestly narrative is the historical framework of the Priestly Code, with which it forms one integral work of a partly historical and partly legislative character. That both are but the parts of one work is based upon the circumstance that the laws of the one are sometimes closely connected with the accounts of the other. The *Thorah*, for instance, given to Noah (Gen. ix. 1-17) presupposes an account of the flood; the law of circumcision given to Abraham (Gen. xvii.) is connected with the history of that patriarch; the regulations for the celebration of the Passover (Ex. xii.) form part of the history of the Exodus; the account of the construction of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxxv.-xl.) presupposes the regulations laid down in chapters xxv.-xxxi. of the same book; the statutes regulating the inheritance of daughters (Numb. xxvii.-xxxvi.) are occasioned by the event that Salphaad, a man of the tribe of Manasses, had died without having a son; how the law appointing Levitical cities and refuge cities is executed is told in Josue xx.-xxi. This connection between the Priestly Code and the priestly narrative is confirmed by a striking resemblance in phraseology. In the priestly narrative we frequently meet with some of the technical expressions peculiar to the Priestly Code (Driver, p. 123). The priestly narrative, moreover, has certain peculiarities which are conveniently accounted for by admitting that it was written with the purpose of making it an historical cadre to the Priestly Code. One peculiarity is the silence wherewith in Genesis the sacrifices of the patriarchs are passed over; another peculiarity is the prominent position assigned to Aaron, and after Aaron's death to Eleazar, Aaron's son. In the sections of Exodus and Numbers which belong to the priestly narrative Moses is usually accompanied by Aaron, and afterwards by Eleazar, and is frequently assisted by them. Now, it follows that, as the composition of the Priestly Code has been assigned to the period of the Exile, the priestly narrative would belong to the same age.

Yet modern critics are unwilling to accept the Exilic origin of the priestly narrative without making an important restriction. For there are here two things which should be well distinguished—viz., the literary form of the narrative,

and its historical materials. Because the literary composition of the priestly narrative is assigned to the Babylonian age, it does not follow that its contents are inventions devised in that age, or that they were unknown in pre-Exilic times.

It may be true, for instance, that the first account of the creation (Gen. i. 1, 2, 4) was written, or perhaps rewritten, in the Exile for the purpose of making it the introduction to the priestly narrative, yet it is certain that long before the Exile the Hexaëmeron was known in Israel. Delitzsch entirely rejects Budde's suggestion that the Israelites should originally have possessed a creation story merely enumerating eight creative works, and that they should have borrowed the idea of seven creative days from the Assyrians, with whom they became more fully acquainted under the reign of King Achaz. That we possess in the Hexaëmeron a truly Jewish tradition of the highest antiquity is, according to Delitzsch, confirmed by the eighth Psalm. Of this Psalm Hitzig says that "it has on no side the appearance of a recent one. In expression, in perfection of construction, and in genuine poetic value, it is thoroughly worthy of David, and forms the companion-piece to the assuredly Davidic Psalm xix. (Vulg. xviii.)." "The eighth Psalm," says Delitzsch, "is the lyrical echo of the tradition committed to writing in the first chapter of Genesis." When the Psalmist, amazed at seeing the exalted position of man, breaks forth: "When I consider the heavens, the work of Thy fingers; the moon and the stars which Thou hast founded; what is man that Thou art mindful of him? And the Son of Man that Thou visitest Him? For Thou hast made him but little lower than God (lxx. and Vulg. "Angeli"), and crownest him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of Thy hands; Thou hast put all things under his feet" (Ps. viii. 3-6)—his language reminds us of the words of God: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them subject to themselves the fish of the sea, and the fowl of the air, and the cattle, and all the earth, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth" (Gen. i. 26).

The Decalogue, moreover, furnishes us with an argument proving that the tradition of a creation of seven days extends beyond the Davidic times, and reaches the age of Moses. For the third "word" of the Decalogue (Ex. xx. 11), pro-

claiming the observation of the Sabbath, is based upon the Hexaëmeron: "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth—and rested on the seventh day."

The Jehovistic and Elohistie fragments are found disconnected throughout the Hexateuch. They make up by far the greater portion of Genesis; they furnish several chapters in Exodus and Numbers; and are said to have formed a considerable part of the book of Josue, though, on account of the Deuteronomic re-formulation of this book, they can now scarcely be recognised. Critics formerly were of opinion that the Jehovistic and Elohistie fragments were written for the purpose of supplementing the priestly narrative which was then considered to be the oldest part of the Pentateuch, and was known under the name of the "Fundamental document." (Grundschrift). Though this theory is now given up by critics, both because the priestly narrative is said to be of later date than the Jehovistic and Elohistie fragments, and because these fragments do not betray a sufficient token that they were composed for the purpose of supplementing the priestly narrative, yet it is very probable that the compiler to whom we owe the Hexateuch used them for that purpose. To the Jehovistic and Elohistie fragments we are indebted for those beautiful episodes from the lives of patriarchs which, through all ages, have been the object of praise and admiration.

The Jehovistic and Elohistie fragments are, as critics say, of post-Mosaic origin. This conclusion is based upon the circumstance that they contain anachronisms, *i.e.*, statements or remarks which are not easily intelligible if the writer had lived in the age of Moses. In his history, for instance, of Abram's arrival in Chanaan (Gen. 12), the Jehovist makes the following remark: "And Abram went through the land as far as the place of Sichem—and the Chanaanite was *then* in the land." In the following chapter, speaking of the strife between the herdsmen of Abram and those of Lot, which became the cause that they separated, he adds: "And the Chanaanite and Pherezite dwelt *then* in the land" (Gen. xiii. 7). Both these remarks, critics say, show that the writer lived in an age when the Chanaanites were no longer in Palestine, consequently after the occupation by Israel. It is true, as Hengstenberg has indicated, that the writer intended to show, in the for-

mer passage, that Abram came into Chanaan a perfect stranger, having no right to the soil, in the latter, that the country could not contain the herds of Abram and Lot on account of the Chanaanites and Pherezites inhabiting it. Yet, it cannot be denied that the manner in which both remarks are made gives the impression that the writer lived after the occupation of Chanaan. An anachronism of similar kind is that contained in Josue ii. 21: "At that time Josue came and cut off the Enacims from the hill country, from Hebron, from Dabir, from Anab, and from all the hill country of Juda, and from all the hill country of Israel." The expression "from the hill country of Juda, and from the hill country of Israel" shows that the writer lived after the separation of Israel from Juda.

A second argument for the post-Mosaic origin of the Jehovistic and Elohistie narratives is, as critics say, the circumstance that they contain citations from post-Mosaic poetry. In Josue x. 12-13, the writer quotes from the books of Jashar (the Upright) the words spoken by Josue on the occasion, that the day was miraculously prolonged. "Then Josue spoke and said in the sight of Israel :

Stand still, O sun, over Gabaon,
And thou, moon, in the valley of Aijalon !
And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed
Until the people had revenged themselves of their enemies !
Is not this written in the book of Jashar."

The Book of Jashar appears to have been a collection of songs celebrating the deeds of Israelitish worthies. Though the time in which it originated is unknown, it cannot have been complete before the beginning of the monarchy, as the lament of David over Saul and Jonathan forms part of it. "And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and Jonathan his son; and he commanded to teach the children of Juda the song of the bow; behold it is written in the Book of Jashar" (2 Kings i. 17).

Of a similar nature to the Book of Jashar is the Book of the Milhamoth Jehovah (the wars of Jehovah), which is quoted in Num. xxi. 14: "Wherefore it is said in the Book of the Milhamoth Jehovah :

At Waheb in Suphah,
 And in the valleys of the Arnon,
 And the slope of the valleys
 That turneth towards the dwelling of Ar,
 And leaneth upon the border of Moab.

The Book of the Milhamoth Jehovah would seem to have contained songs celebrating the battles fought by Israel under Judges and Samuel. "And Saul said to David: behold my elder daughter Merob; her will I give thee to wife; only be a valiant for me, and fight the *battles of Jehovah*" (1 Kings xviii. 17). Abigail, Nabal's wife, speaking to David, says: "Forgive, I pray thee, the iniquity of thy handmaid: for Jehovah will certainly make my lord a sure house, because my lord fighteth the *battles of Jehorah*" (1 Kings xxv. 28).

The citation from the Book of Milhamoth, in Numbers, is made to prove that the Arnon is the border between the Amorrites and Moabites, and that Israel by crossing the Arnon had entered the territory of the Amorrites. "From thence (Tared) they broke up and encamped on the other side of the Arnon, which is in the wilderness that goeth out of the borders of the Amorrites; for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorrites. Wherefore it is said in the Book of Milhamoth Jehovah, &c." (Num. xxi. 13). To the fact that the river Arnon formed the border between Moab and the Amorrites, the narrator evidently attached great importance. His object appears to have been to prove that, in conquering the land of Sehon, king of the Amorrites, Israel had not injured the Ammonites or Moabites. Hence, after having described how Israel took the land of King Sehon, lying between the rivers Arnon and Jeboc, he adds the following remark: "And Israel took all these cities; and Israel dwelt in the cities of the Amorrites, in Hesebon, and in all its villages. For Hesebon was the city of Sehon the king of the Amorrites: and he had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his hand, as far as the Arnon" (v. xxvi.) The narrator then proceeds to prove the historical fact, that King Sehon had taken the land of the Moabites, by a citation from the sayings of the Moshelim (those that speak in proverbs): "Wherefore the Moshelim say:

Come into Hesebon;
 Let the city of Sehon be built and set up,
 For a fire is gone out of Hesebon,
 A flame from the city of Sehon;
 It has consumed Ar of Moab,
 The owners of the high places of Arnon.
 Woe to thee, Moab!
 Thou art undone, O people of Chamos;
 He has given his sons to flight,
 And his daughters into captivity
 To Sehon, king of the Amorrites.

The final conclusion is then stated: "So Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorrites" (v. xxxi.)

Now, it is not likely that the writer of this section in Numbers was an eye-witness of the events which he is describing. For, as we have seen, it is at least probable that the Book of Milhamoth dates from the beginning of the monarchy; nor is it likely that the sayings of Moshelim celebrating King Sehon's victories already existed in the age of Moses, Sehon's contemporary. What reason, moreover, could Moses, or a writer of the age of Moses, have had to prove by citations from the Book of the Milhamoth, and from the Moshelim, that the Arnon formed the border between Moab and the Amorrites, and that the Israelites took the land between the Arnon and the Jeboc, not from the Moabites, but from the Amorrites? But these difficulties disappear, and the whole becomes more intelligible when it is admitted that chap. xxi. was written in the beginning of the monarchy by a writer who knew of the disputes which, under the Judges, the Israelites had with the Ammonites and Moabites concerning the territory at the other side of the Jordan, and who found here an opportunity to prove that the claims of Israel to that territory were just. An instance of these disputes between Israel and the Moabites and Ammonites we have in Judges xi. Remarkable in this chapter is the dialogue between the Judge Jephthe and the Ammonites.

(12) And Jephthe sent messengers to the king of the children of Ammon saying, What hast thou to do with me that thou art come to fight against my land? (13) And the king of Ammon answered unto the messengers of Jephthe, because Israel took away my land when he came up out of Egypt from the Arnon as far as the Jeboc, and unto the Jordan; now

therefore restore the same again peaceably. (15) And Jephte sent messengers again to the king of Ammon, and he said unto him, thus saith Jephte, Israel did not take away the land of Moab, nor the land of the children of Ammon. (18) But, when they came up out of Egypt they (Israel) crossed the desert and went round the land of Edom, and the land of Moab, and came by the east side of the land of Moab, and encamped at the other side of the Arnon; but they did not enter the territory of Moab, for the Arnon is the border of Moab, &c.

Although critics do not agree as to the relative date of the Jehovistic and Elohist narratives, they are unanimous in admitting that both existed before the middle of the eighth century.

Both [says Dr. Driver] belong to the golden period (eighth and ninth century) of Hebrew literature. They resemble the best parts of Judges and Samuel (much of which cannot be later than David's own time); but, whether they are actually earlier or later than these, the language and styles do not enable us to say (Driver, p. 117).

It is very probable also that the prophets of the eighth century were acquainted with the contents of these narratives. Amos ii. 9, 10, contains an allusion to the peregrination in the wilderness and the victory over the Amorrites:

Yet I cast out the Amorrite before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and who was strong as the oaks; and I destroyed his fruit from above, and his root from beneath. It is I that brought you up out of the land of Egypt, and led you forty years through the desert to possess the land of the Amorrite.

In a similar manner, Osee xii. 2-5 contains an allusion to an incident in the history of the patriarch Jacob:

The Lord will contend also with Juda, and will visit Jacob according to his ways; he will render to him according to his doings. In the womb he took his brother by the heel (Gen. xxv. 25); and in his strength he was powerful with God; he prevailed over the angel and was strengthened (Gen. xxxii. 24): he wept and made supplication to him, he found him at Bethel, and there he spoke with us: even the Lord the God of Hosts, the Lord is his memorial.

It need hardly be said that, in composing their narratives, the Jehovistic and Elohist authors may well have used documents of a Mosaic age. Indeed, in two instances—viz., the battle against the Amalecites (Ex. xvii. 8-16), and the

covenant made by Josue at Sichem (Jos. xxiv.), we know for certain that an original document by Moses and Josue has been used by them.

And now we have brought our task to a close. We have given a summary of the main conclusions which critical analysis has produced concerning the authorship and composition of the Hexateuch; and we have indicated also some of the arguments on which these conclusions are founded.

C. VAN DEN BIESEN.

ART. V.—ENGLISH SCHOLARS AT BOLOGNA DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE English traveller who, guide-book in hand, visits the many objects of art to be seen in Bologna, when going round the church of San Salvatore, learns that he will find there “some interesting paintings.”

And, doubtless, it is so. For Carpi, Caracci, Fontana, Coppi, Guido Reni, Cavedone, and others contribute to the beauty of God’s house. But what will chiefly interest the British tourist is “a picture of the Virgin and St. Thomas (of Canterbury) by Girolamo da Treviso, formerly at the altar de’ Scolari Inglesi, in the old church.”

It is but natural that this picture, which somehow is associated with his nation, should rouse the curiosity of the English traveller. But no further information can be derived from his guide-book. How was that picture connected with the English scholars? Where was the altar mentioned as belonging to them in the old church? Who were these English scholars whose memory still clings to St. Saviour’s? To answer these enquiries is the object of this article.

Bologna, called also *Bononia docta*, *Mater studiorum*, *legum Mater*, the Capital of Romagna, in the Papal States, is one of the most ancient cities of Italy.

In the history of painting its school occupies a very prominent place.

Bologna [says a German connoisseur who wrote towards the end of the last century] is immortalised by the noble masters it has produced, who formed a grand epoch in the art of painting, and after whom the Bolognese school took its title. . . . Next to Rome there is no city in the world so rich in excellent paintings as Bologna. Here we find noble specimens of all the great artists of Europe, and the masterpieces of those painters who formed themselves in this school.*

The high opinion entertained by the German critic was shared by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The English master recommends to his pupils Ludovico Caracci as a model of style, and says :

* “Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy.” By Fr. Leopold Count Stolberg ; translated by J. Holcroft. London, 1797. Vol. ii. Lett. xl.

I think those who travel would do well to allot a much greater portion of time to that city (Bologna) than it has hitherto been the custom to bestow.

Painting, however, is not Bologna's only or chief title to distinction. Galvani, who made that momentous discovery to which he gave his name, was a native of that city. Bologna saw Novella d'Andrea frequently in the chair of her father expounding the law, with a curtain drawn before her lest her beauty should distract the scholars. Here also Laura Bassi taught mathematics and natural philosophy. Madama Mazzolina professed anatomy, and Matilda Tambroni was the predecessor, in the chair of Greek of the renowned linguist, Cardinal Mezzofanti.

The Bolognese University is regarded as the oldest in Italy, and as the first where academical degrees were conferred. If we believe some historians, its origin dates from the time of Charlemagne, or, earlier still, from Theodosius II. For many centuries it has been celebrated chiefly for the study of law, both civil and ecclesiastic.

If it were necessary [says Hallam] to construe the word university in the strict sense of a legal corporation, Bologna might lay claim to a higher antiquity than either Paris or Oxford. There are a few vestiges of studies pursued in that city in the eleventh century.*

According to Muratori† the revival of jurisprudence took place in Bologna towards the year 1116 or 1102, under Irnerius or Warnerius, antonomastically called *Lucerna juris*. By the end of the twelfth century the fame of the Bolognese University as the first law school in Europe was fairly established. Towards the middle of the same century the study of canon law was also introduced. It was there that appeared and were first expounded the famous Decretals of Gratian, the Benedictine monk of Chiusi, who published his work, the fruits of twenty-five years' labour, in 1151. At the same time some important privileges were granted to the students by the civil power to secure protection to foreigners who resorted to that University.

* "View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages," vol. iii. p. 525.

† *Annali d'Italia*; Dissert. 34a De' Diplomi e carte antiche dubbiose e false; Dissert. 44 Della fortuna delle lettere in Italia.

In 1158 [writes Miss A. T. Drane] when the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa held his great diet on the plains of Roncaglia, for the purpose of publishing a code of laws which should secure his own power in Italy, four professors were summoned from Bologna to assist in the deliberations. He treated them with much distinction, and with good reason, as they gave the fullest support to the imperial claims. They did, however, better service to their university by obtaining from the Emperor those celebrated ordinances known as the *Habita*, which, though originally promulgated in favour of Bologna, came to be recognised as establishing similar rights in other European universities. In them the Emperor extends his protection in a special manner to the masters and the scholars. "It is our duty," he says, "to protect all our subjects, but especially those whose science enlightens the world, and who teach our people the obligation of obeying God and us, the ministers of His divine power." "Who will not have compassion," he continues, "on those precious exiles, whom the love of learning has banished from their own countries, who have exposed themselves to a thousand dangers, and, far from their friends and families, live here without defence in poverty and peril?" He therefore directs that all foreign students shall have safe conduct for themselves, for their messengers, both coming, going, and during their stay at the university, and that if anything be taken from them, the magistrates of the city shall be bound to restore it fourfold. Moreover, he exempts them from the ordinary civil jurisdiction, and grants them the right of being judged by the master of the school to which they belong.*

In course of time other privileges were added in favour of foreign students (*advence forenses*). Every year a valuator was appointed to fix the house-rents for the benefit of the scholars, who could choose any house they liked, and stay there for three years. Should the landlord exact a higher rent or otherwise unjustly harass the scholars, he was forbidden to let his house to anyone else.†

The Roman Pontiffs also, and especially Alexander III., who had been a professor at the Bolognese University, took great interest in the rising school, and extended to it their protection.

These and similar grants at once raised the Italian University to a high position, and drew thither crowds of scholars not only from all parts of Italy, but even from beyond the Alps. A contemporary writer (circa A.D. 1200) asserts that there were fully 10,000 scholars at Bologna. Azarius, about the middle of the fourteenth century, says the number

* "Christian Schools and Scholars," p. 392.

† Cantù, "Storia Universale," Libr. xi. c. xxiv.

in his time was about 13,000.* As these scholars came from various countries, it was found necessary to divide them into several *nationes*. The Bologna University had two *nationes*, one comprising the scholars of eighteen different countries upon this side of the Alps, and among them England; to the other belonged the students hailing from seventeen different parts of Italy.†

England was not behind other nations in sending scholars to the Bolognese University to follow its unrivalled course of jurisprudence, very much as she sent them to Paris for scholastic theology. In fact, the historian Sigonio tells us that the English students in Bologna were numerous: "*Juvenes Angli qui tum frequentes studiorum causa versabantur*;"‡ and Hallam says that "Bologna, as well as Paris, was full of English students about 1200."§

In fact, it must have been the fashion in the twelfth century to resort to these two great Universities. Of this we have a proof in the well-known satirical poem called *Speculum Stultorum* by Nigellus. Its hero is an ass, Brunellus, who thinks that his tail is too short for him, and is ambitious to obtain one of longer dimensions. He goes to Salernum, the famous medical school of the Middle Ages, where, he is told, he will find the ingredients necessary for his purpose. On his return home Brunellus falls into a variety of misfortunes, and all the fruits of his journey are lost. Then he forms a design to proceed first to Paris, there to learn the fine arts for ten years; and then to Bologna to study the law, that thus he may return home a scholar:

Parisiis veniam, studioque vacando decenni
Artibus insistam, non remorabor iter
Postea Boloniam, Domino ducente revertar
Legales apices conciliare mihi. ||

* H. Hallam, "View of the State of Europe," vol. iii. p. 526; Muratori, "Scriptor. Rer. Italic." t. xvi. p. 323.

† "Cantù, Storia Universale," Lib. xi. c. xxiv. The Parisian University had four *nationes*, and centred in the college of professors, whereas that of Bologna centred in the corporation of scholars. See "Die Universitäten des Mittelalters," bis Fon, P. H. Denifle, O.P. Berlin, 1885.

‡ "Dei Vescovi di Bologna," p. 94.

§ "Literature of Europe," vol. i. p. 16.

|| Rolls Series, "The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century," vol. i.

Speaking of the Bologna University, Cardinal Newman remarks that

It affords us an observable instance, first, of the self-originating, independent character of the scientific movement, then of the influence and attraction it exerted on the people. . . . It had ten thousand students under its teaching, numbers of whom had come all across sea and mountain from England, so strong and encompassing was the sentiment.*

The thirst after knowledge must have been strong indeed, especially when we consider all the difficulties they had to overcome, and the dangers to which they were exposed. And yet, as an old writer remarks, it was then that "the whole of Ireland with its *family* of philosophers (*gregeſ philosophorum*), despising the dangers of the sea," migrated to the south and betook themselves either to Paris or Bologna. Thereupon the same illustrious Cardinal observes:

There is force in the words, despising the dangers of the sea. We, in this degenerate age, sometimes shrink from the passage between Holyhead and Kingstown when duty calls for it, yet before steamboats, almost before seaworthy vessels, we find these zealous scholars, both Irish and English, voluntarily exposing themselves to the winds and the waves, from their desire of imparting and acquiring knowledge. Not content with one teacher, they went from place to place, according as in each there was a pre-eminence in a particular branch of knowledge.†

Therefore, as the Bologna University was then pre-eminent in the study of law, both civil and ecclesiastical, it was thither that numbers of scholars from Ireland and England would resort to acquire that particular branch of knowledge.

History has recorded a few of their names. One was Geoffrey de Vinesauf or Vinsauf, author of the *Ars Dictionis* and *Ars Poetica*, written for the use of his Bolognese pupils. The latter work had a great popularity throughout the Middle Ages, and until the revival of letters seems to have quite eclipsed Horace's Epistle on the same subject. Though an Englishman by birth, he seems to have been rather ashamed of the barbarism of his mother-country, for he declares that to go, at that time, from England to Rome was like going from earth into heaven.‡ On Gale's authority he was generally

* Historical Sketches: "The Schoolmen," vol. iii. p. 168.

† *Ibid.* p. 174.

‡ "Christian School and Scholars," p. 393.

considered as the historian of Richard Cœur de Lion in the second Crusade. But Dr. Stubbs proves that in all probability the "*Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*" was the work of Richard, a canon regular of Holy Trinity, London, who accompanied the king during the expedition in the Holy Land.*

In the "*Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*" it is related that, A.D. 1235, some doubts having arisen concerning the mode of election of a new Abbot, Richard de Morins, Prior of Dunstable, and Thomas de Thynemouth, a canon regular of Merton, both of whom had taken doctor's degrees in the civil and canon law at Bologna, were called in as advisers of the monks.

Vocatis igitur ad consilium conventus, Priore de Dunstable, Ricardo de Moris, et Thoma Thinemue, Canonico de Mertona, magistris solemnibus qui et Bononiæ et alibi, præcognita ad plenum Logica in Jure et Canonum rexerant sanctionibus.†

This Richard de Morins, mentioned in the above passage as a learned English scholar at Bologna, was the author of "*Annales Prioratus de Dunstablia*," so ably edited, for the Master of Rolls, by Dr. Luard. Speaking of that English scholar the editor says :

It is clear that he was a personage of considerable importance. In the year after that in which he was moved from Merton to Dunstable, though till then only a deacon, he was sent by King John to Rome in order to obtain the Pope's aid to arrange peace with France, and he brought back with him to England John, the Cardinal of S. Maria in Via Lata (Abbat of S. Giovanni di Casamaria) as Ambassador for that purpose. The Cardinal made him visitor of the religious houses in the diocese of Lincoln three years after. In 1212 he was sent through the diocese to investigate into the losses brought on the church by John; and the same year, when three preachers were sent into England by Innocent III. to preach the crusade, he acted for them in the counties of Huntingdon, Bedford, and Hertford. In 1214 we find him at the fourth Lateran Council: and he took advantage of his absence from England to remain a year at Paris in the Theological Schools. He speaks of the danger and difficulty which many of the bishops and abbots who had attended the council suffered on their return. In 1223, Matthew Paris tells us that he was one of the Commissioners who settled the question of the freedom of

* Rolls Series, "*Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I.*," vol. i. Introduction.

† Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 307.

the Abbey of Westminster from the Bishop of London, and the same year he was appointed visitor of the order in the province of York in company with the Abbot of Derley ; and in 1228, again, of the monasteries of the order in Lincoln and Lichfield dioceses. . . . In 1241, when, after the death of St. Edmund and his burial at Pontigny, two of the Canterbury monks were sent to Rome to obtain absolution from the sentence of excommunication which the late Archbishop had pronounced against them, in order that there might be no hindrance on that score to the election of his successor; the letters of absolution were sent to the Prior of Dunstable and the Abbot of St. Alban's, joined also with the power of dispensation in case the monks had contracted any irregularity by celebrating after their sentence. His death occurred soon afterwards in 1242.*

We have said that Richard de Morins was the author of the *Annals of Dunstable*, a priory founded in honour of St. Peter for Augustinian canons towards the end of the reign of Henry I. The work, however, is not a barren chronicle of the priory over which de Morins ruled. It has an interest more than local. On the historical value of the book we cannot do better than quote again its learned editor, who says :

I scarcely think we can estimate it too highly. It is probably the most accurate record extant of the ordinary secular proceedings of a monastery in the thirteenth century.†

It would appear that the knowledge of law he had acquired when at Bologna stood him in good stead on more than one occasion. In fact, several times he successfully defended the rights of his priory which were disputed on various points, and this is why we often find him giving accounts of law proceedings in which he was occupied in behalf of his monastery.

Another English scholar from Bologna has been also mentioned, viz., Thomas de Tynemouth, a canon regular of Merton Priory. Of him, however, we have no information beyond the fact of his being consulted by the monks of St. Alban's concerning the election of their abbot. Dugdale gives a list of the priors of Merton, and among others we find the name of a Thomas, who was elected in 1218, and died in 1222. This might be our English scholar who had graduated in the Bolognese University.

* Rolls Series, "*Annales Monastici*," vol. iii. Preface, p. xi.

† *Ibid.* p. xxxii.

Vacarius was an Italian, yet, as he gave himself to England, he may be numbered among the scholars of this country. Cardinal Newman tells us who Vacarius was, and what England owes to this Bolognese scholar :

It was about a century after Lanfranc that from the monastery of Beck came forth another abbot, and he another Lombard, to begin a second movement in a new science in these same northern regions, especially in England. This was the celebrated Vacarius, or Bacalaureus, who from the proximity of his birthplace to Bologna, seems to have gained that devotion to the study of the law which he ultimately kindled in Oxford. Lanfranc had lectured in logic—Vacarius lectured in law. . . . As Englishmen at that time sought Italy, so in turn did Vacarius, a native of Italy, seek England. . . . To England he came and to Oxford, and there he effected a revolution in the studies of the place, and that on the special ground of the definite drift and direct usefulness of the science in which he was a proficient. As in the case of Lanfranc, not one class of persons, but "rich and poor," says Wood, "gathered round him." The professors of arts were thrown into the shade.*

But it is chiefly the glorious name of St. Thomas, the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, that the Bologna University is proud to inscribe on its rolls. St. Thomas à Becket was an English scholar at Bologna, and soon after his death became the patron of his countrymen who still frequented the same school.

Before he undertook the office of archdeacon, to which he had been promoted, knowing, his biographer tells us, that—

With that title there went great responsibility and various labours both concerning law affairs and the upholding of holy church in many other ways. . . . He goeth often to the school where the laws of holy church are read and interpreted, in order that he may be the surer to set all things to rights, the fuller he understandeth how law cases are dealt with, and on what things their issue turns.†

Another biographer and contemporary of the holy martyr is more explicit concerning the place whither he went to hear the law of holy church "read and interpreted." William FitzStephen states that Thomas obtained from his master, viz., the Archbishop, leave to cross the sea and to study the law for a year at Bologna and at Auxerre : "Tunc impetrata a Domino

* Historical Sketches : "The Schoolmen," p. 169.

† Rolls Series, Thomas Saga Erkibyskups : "A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket in Icelandic." Edited by Eirike Magnuson, vol. i. p. 39.

suo archiepiscopo transfretandi licentia, per annum studuit in legibus Bononiæ postea Antisiodori.”*

What his life as a law student at Bologna must have been we can judge from his conduct when a scholar at Paris—so graphically recorded by the *Thomas Saga*. We may figure him to ourselves from the words used by the talented authoress of “*Christian Schools and Scholars*,” when she describes him as a “young law student”:

If inferior to many of his companions in scholastic acquirements, he made up for the deficiency by the brilliancy of his native gifts and those personal graces which add so largely to the power of wit or eloquence. The large grey eyes, so calm, yet with a glance so full of fire, are all known to us; for, if the features of St. Thomas à Becket have not been preserved chiselled in marble, they have yet been made familiar to us by the description of those who laid up in their hearts the memory of that beloved countenance. It bore the unmistakable impress of genius, and of sensitive organisation with which genius is so frequently accompanied.†

How we should like to know where the saintly scholar lived while a student at Bologna, and to treasure up any scrap of information concerning his life there! That he became proficient in the law we cannot doubt, for his biographer describes him as being “quick of learning, keen of memory, and clear of understanding in all things—those concerning the heart no less than those appertaining to book lore.” If, like many of his countrymen, he made his abode with the canons regular of St. Saviour’s, he would not be entirely among strangers, for his younger days had been spent with members of the same order at Merton Priory. One thing is certain, that his name was not forgotten in St. Saviour’s. His memory still haunts the adjoining priory, where the canons regular are to be found to this day. The true origin of their priory church is uncertain, but there are documents of the eleventh century in which either the priory or the church is mentioned. It would seem that at the time of St. Thomas à Becket, and for some centuries afterwards, St. Saviour’s was to the Bologna University what St. Geneviève’s and St. Victor’s were to that of Paris, and St. Frideswide’s to that of Oxford—viz., a centre of learning for scholars of various nations.‡

* *Rolls Series*, “*Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*,” vol. iii. p. 17.

† P. 358.

‡ In 1109 the famous William de Champeaux, formerly archdeacon of Paris,

The English seemed first to resort to it as to their favourite hostel, but after the martyrdom of St. Thomas it came into favour as a place of devotion peculiarly dear to the countrymen of the martyr. No sooner, in fact, had the Archbishop been canonised, than an altar in his honour was raised in San Salvatore. The altar was soon transformed into an enclosed chapel, sometimes also called a church. The chapel was maintained and the services were carried out by the English scholars.

The chronicles of the canons regular * tell us that Cardinal Hildebrand, formerly a canon regular, and very likely a fellow-student of St. Thomas, in the Bologna school, erected another in his honour. As the Cardinal died at Vicenza, Nov. 7th, 1178, this must have taken place soon after the canonisation of the holy martyr, which was in 1173. But the scholars of the English nation, who, as we have said, were then very numerous at Bologna, thinking that the altar was not sufficiently rich to pay adequate honour to their holy countryman, built at their own expense a chapel, and on so large a scale that it was sometimes called a church, having entrance and sacristy apart from the main building of St. Saviour's, although adjoining and making part of the general structure. The chapel being completed and a beautiful altar erected therein, the former one, raised by Cardinal Hildebrand, was demolished. Wishing to have their new altar consecrated, the English scholars addressed a petition to Innocent III. The sovereign Pontiff granted their request, and commissioned the bishops of Bologna and Modena to carry out the required consecration. For some reason the commission not only was not executed, but the then bishop, who according to Faleoni † was Girardo Areosti, openly

and then a canon-regular, opened within his monastery a school which drew scholars from many parts, and produced illustrious theologians like Hugo, Richard, Adam, and others, all distinguished by the surname of St. Victor. St. Frideswide's, too, founded for canons-regular at Castle Tower by Robert d'Oiley, and translated to Osney in 1149, "became a nursery for secular students, subject to the chancellor's jurisdiction." See Cardinal Newman, "Medieval Oxford"; also, Rolls Series, "Monumenta Accadem." Oxon. p. xxxiv.

* To the celebrated Abbot Trombelli, in his work, "*Memorie storiche di S. Maria di Reno e di S. Salvatore insieme unite*," I chiefly owe the following facts concerning the English scholars at Bologna and their national chapel, which, it would appear, has entirely escaped the notice of so accurate a biographer of St. Thomas à Becket as Fr. Morris.

† "*Memorie storiche della Chiesa Bolognese e suoi Pastori*," p. 200.

opposed its execution. The scholars renewed their petition to the Pope, who in a brief, after having reprimanded the Bishop of Bologna for not obeying his former order, again commissions the same two bishops to proceed with the consecration. And should the Bishop of Bologna either be hindered from taking part in the consecration, or still persist in his refusal, powers and injunctions are given to the Bishop of Modena to effect it by himself alone. At the time of Trombelli, towards the end of the last century, the original MS. of this papal brief was still preserved in the library of St. Saviour's. As it may interest English students of our times, I give it in full in an appendix to this article.

The Bishop of Bologna still refusing to comply with the wish of the English scholars, the altar was consecrated with great solemnity and rejoicings by Egidio Garzoni, Bishop of Modena.

In the year 1269 Peter Laurentii, Bishop of Cuenca, in order to induce the public to frequent the chapel and to contribute alms towards its support, granted, with the permission of the Bishop of Bologna, an indulgence of 40 days to all those who, having confessed their sins and communicated, would visit the said chapel on the feastday of St. Thomas, or on any other day.

Petrus Laurentii Episcopus Conchensis de licentia Episcopi Bononiensis omnibus Christi fidelibus poenitentibus et confessis, qui in die Festivitatis aut alias quandocumque Ecclesiam sive locum Beati Thomæ Martyris constructam apud Ecclesiam S. Salvatoris opere sumptuoso per scholares Anglicanæ nationis, vel pias eleemosynas illuc contulerint toties XL de iniuncta eius poenitentia in perpetuum indulget. Datum Romæ in die festivitatis præfati Martyris M^{CC}LXIX.

From some title-deeds it appears that the chapel had been also endowed with some landed property.

A time came when a dispute arose between the scholars and the canons regular to whom the Church of St. Saviour's belonged, both parties claiming the ownership of the chapel. Finally a compromise was arrived at. On the part of the English students, John of S. Quintino, their provost and syndic (*præpositus et syndicus nationis scholarium Anglicorum*) and on the part of the canons, Dom Azolino, a canon regular, put the affair into the hands of Baldreto Biset, a Scotchman and

Vicar-General of Ubert, Bishop of Bologna. His decision was that the canons should neither prevent the scholars from celebrating the divine offices in the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, nor allow any one to interfere with them. This agreement was concluded, and was carried into effect in 1305, by a deed made and signed by the parties in the chapel itself.

When in 1478 the old Church of St. Saviour's was demolished, to give place to a new and larger one, the chapel of the English scholars must also have been taken down, for we find that among the altars consecrated in the newly rebuilt church, by Matteo Rosa, Suffragan-bishop of Bologna, there was one in honour of our St. Thomas. Had the old one still been standing, we can hardly suppose that a new one would have been built and consecrated.

Little by little the English scholars, attracted no doubt by the increasing fame of their own national Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, ceased to frequent the Italian University, and their chapel knew them no more. In the beginning of the sixteenth century it had passed into the patronage of the Dolfi family, as recorded in the parish registers, which say: "*Altare S. Thomæ Jurispatronatus illorum de Dulphis.*"

The altar of St. Thomas was preserved until 1612, when the church was again demolished, to be rebuilt by Alfonso Bavosi, the then Prior, on a truly magnificent scale, after designs by Magenta. As a remembrance, however, of the altar existing in the old church in honour of St. Thomas, care was taken to preserve the picture, which was perhaps the altar-piece, representing the Holy Martyr and Our Lady.

This picture is still pointed out as formerly belonging to the altar—"Degli scolari Inglesi," under a gallery in the south transept. It is by Girolamo da Treviso, and Vasari makes mention of it. In the Acts of Francesco Gislieri, Prior of St. Saviour's, mention is made of a still more ancient picture, which might have been in the original chapel of the English students. It represented the holy archbishop with a canon-regular kneeling and praying before him, just as we see in the pictures by Giotto. Nor were these the only pictures of the saint which record the devotion to him, which from so early a date had been fostered at St. Saviour's. Down to our own day,

in the cloister and in the refectory of the canons there were two beautiful frescoes representing St. Thomas. Both were the work of the celebrated painter, Bagnacavallo. What has become of these two pictures I cannot tell, as the monastery has passed into the hands of the Italian Government, and is in great part converted into barracks.

It was but natural that, of the English scholars who associated so much with the canons-regular who officiated at St. Saviour's, some should either be affiliated to them, or even become members of their order. And this we find to have been the case. Abbot Trombelli, in an Appendix to the above-mentioned work, published a very old necrology, which he says he faithfully transcribed from the original, and collated with an early copy made by order of blessed Stephen Cioni, who died October 29, 1433. In another work, the same illustrious writer, a very competent authority on the date of MSS., ascribes the necrology to the twelfth century, names and notices of brethren and benefactors having been inserted in after years.*

The necrology bears this title : "*Canonicorum Sanctæ Mariæ de reno et Sancti Salvatoris de Bononia defunctorum, familiarium quoque et Benefactorum Catalogus iuxta Calendarii.*" The copy of the necrology is thus headed :

Copia Antiquissimi Kalendarii Sanctæ Mariæ de Rheno facta de ordine Reverendi Patris fratris Stephani Cioni de Senis, quia illud jam lacerum, et antiquitate corrosum de facili amitti posset. Et incipit in honorem Dñi Nostri Salvatoris et Beatissimæ Virginis eius Mariæ, Amen.

As this necrology is, I think, little, if at all, known to English readers, I may be allowed to give here all the information that may be derived from it concerning the chapel of St. Thomas and the English scholars at Bologna.

January 13th being the anniversary day of a certain Robert, an Englishman, who died A.D. 1254, and had been a member of the priory, the brethren are requested to pray for the repose of his soul : "*an. do. MCCLIIII. obiit robertus anglicus, frater noster, oremus pro eo.*"

Febr. 16th was the anniversary day of Master William of Winchester : "*O (obitus, obiit) magister Willielmus winchoniensis (Winthoniensis ?).*"

* "*Arte di conoscer le date,*" c. xii. p. 61. Note.

On Febr. 23rd and 28th occur the names of Nicholas and Herbert, both Englishmen: "O nicholaus anglicus; O hebertus anglicus."

The name of Magister Roger, who had embraced the religious life in the priory in the humble condition of a lay brother, is recorded on the 26th of March: "O magister rogerius agnicus (read anglicus) conversus."

The English scholars of the Middle Ages believed in purgatory and in the efficacy of prayers for the dead. We are therefore not surprised to find proofs of their faith in our necrology. Although far from their native country, they did not forget to offer up prayers for the departed souls of their parents and friends. Under April 15th, R. of Hereford registers the anniversary of his father and mother: "O patris et matris magistri R. de Hereford." We meet with another instance in a certain Seffred, who founded an anniversary mass for the soul of his mother, who appears to have died on the 13th of August, to be celebrated on the 1st of November. On these two respective days in the necrology we find respectively: "O Matillis Mater Seffredi Anglici. Hic inceptit annuale obsequium pro anima matillidis matris Seffredi Anglici."

The interest the English scholars at Bologna took in their national chapel of St. Thomas is shown more than once by their generous bequests towards its support. To that end a certain William, who died A.D. 1211, bequeathed one hundred solidi in Bolognese money: "O a.d. MCCXI. wilhelmus anglicus pro quo habuimus c. sol. b. pro opere sancti thome mart." The name of this English student is recorded on the 19th of April.

Again, another Magister William, a Londoner, who must have been one of the first founders of the chapel, as he died May 6, 1187, bequeathed to the priory many books, besides 17 solidi, and became a canon regular: "O Magister wilielmus anglicus lugdoniensis (londonensis) de quo habuimus quam plures libros et XVII. sol. . . . se nobis pro canonico obtulit et fratre. a.d. MCLXXXVII. Indict. V."

It does not appear whether a certain "David de lessevad" (Liswade?), of whom mention is made on the 9th of July, was an Englishman or a Welshman, but it is recorded that he gave 10 solidi of Bolognese money for the maintenance of the

brethren, and 20 solidi of the same money towards the support of the chapel of St. Thomas: "O david de lessevad de quo habuimus X. s. b. pro refectione fratrum et XX. s. b. pro opere capelle sancti thome."

Under July 12th we find this most important entry: "an. d. M.CC.V. ob. venerabilis frater cantuariensis archiepiscopus humbertus." There can be no doubt that the English scholar whose name and dignity are here recorded, was Hubert Walter or Fitz-Walter, who was raised to the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury, A.D. 1193, and died in 1205, as stated in our necrology.

This celebrated man [says Sir Thomas Duffy Hardy] was born at West Dureham, in Norfolk, and educated in the family of Ralph de Glanville, chief justiciary of England, to whom he was indebted for his success in after life. He was made Dean of York in 1186 (?), and shortly afterwards, in 1189, Bishop of Salisbury. From that see he was translated to archbishopric of Canterbury in 1193; he afterwards executed the offices of papal legate and lord high chancellor of England. He died in 1205. His literary works were "Constitutiones Synodales," "Invectiones in Giraldum Romae," a tract entitled, "In Coronationem Regis," and a volume of sermons and epistles.*

The necrologium calls Hubert "frater noster," viz., a canon regular. And in this particular also it proves to be correct. For a contemporary historian, William of Newburg, himself a canon regular, testifies to the fact. His words are as follows:

After having required and received the pall from the Roman pontiff he (Hubert) was enthroned, and shortly after having taken the habit of a canon of Merton, he manifested by his outward garb the religious purpose of his mind.†

The taking of the religious habit was in such circumstances considered then as equivalent to the religious profession. We have a similar case in the person of St. Thomas, the predecessor of Hubert, and, we may fairly suppose, his mode in this particular. In the Thomas Saga, the biographer of the holy archbishop relates how

* Rolls Series, "Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. iii. p. 21.

† "The History of W. of Newburg," translated by Rev. J. Stevenson, chap. xxxv. p. 611.

Thomas was ordained a monk in these words: The blessed Thomas, arch-elect, now rides from London with a large following of clerics and lay folk, to the place which is called Merton. His errand hither was that he desired to show unto God and man the change of his right hand. He keepeth before his mind how his forefathers of Canterbury had accorded with right rule on their accession. . . . To be like unto these is the will of blessed Thomas when he cometh to Merton, wherefore he visiteth the church of his spouse, the Queen Mary; there he layeth down his costly weeds and silk attire, and taketh on a black cape and a white surplice, which go with the ordination of a canon regular, and this rule he followeth out afterward.*

Let us now return to the necrology. On August 1, a canon regular of Lanthony the First, no doubt a scholar at Bologna, is recorded as having given 40 solidi towards the chapel of St. Thomas: "O Canonici prime Lanthonie pro quo habuimus XL. sol. ad opus Sancti Thome." Lanthony the First, in Monmouthshire, was founded for Augustinian canons about the year 1108. It was called first to distinguish it from the abbey of the same name at Gloucester—its daughter.

On the 5th of August a student, whose name has been obliterated in the MSS., bequeathed by his will 20 solidi. "O . . . anglicus de quo habuimus XX. s. pro testamento."

Aug. 10. Magister John gave 10 imperial solidi: "O Jo. anglicus de quo habuimus X. sol. imperial."

Aug. 13. In the year 1234 William, a Yorkshireman, leaves his own palfrey to the Priory: "O dnus wuillielmus de eboraco anglicus de quo habuit domus sancti Salvatoris palafredum, MCCXXXIII. indict. VII."

On the 15th of Aug. the obit of another English scholar is recorded. "O Magister ricardus anglicus." Could this be Richard, the holy Bishop of Chichester? The day of his anniversary would not agree with that of his death, which happened on April 3rd, but we have seen above an instance where the obit was transferred to another day. However this may be, certain it is that St. Richard was a scholar at Bologna. Ralph Bocking, who had been the bishop's confessor, tells us that Richard went to Bologna to study law for more than seven years, that his professor, falling ill, chose him out of all his disciples to continue the lectures he had begun, and that

* Vol. i. chap. xvii. p. 85.

he taught there for more than half a year to the great satisfaction of the University :

Postea vero in Italiam profectus, Bononiæ septennio amplius jurisprudentiæ operam dedit, idque tanto cum eruditionis incremento, ut præceptor eius morbo correptus, ex omnibus discipulis suis unum Ricardum delegerit qui ipsius loco coeptam prælectionem continuaret. Et id quidem anno dimidio et eo amplius tanta cum modestia præstitit, ut ab illa academia haud vulgari tum laude tum honore affectus sit.

On the 25th of the same month was the obit of Raynold, who had been a very faithful administrator of the chapel of St. Thomas. "O rainaldus anglicus et fidelissimus coadjutor ecclesie sancti thome."

Opposite September 3rd is entered another William, who gave 4 shillings sterling and 40 solidi of Bolognesemoney. "O wilielmus anglicus de quo habuimus IIII. s. sterlingorum et XL. s. Bon."

Sept. 12. Prayers are requested for Magister Rodulf, who died A.D. 1235, and who gave £3 in Bolognese money. "a.d. MCCXXXV. O Magister rodolphus anglicus de quo habuimus III. libras bon. oremus pro eo."

Under the same date we read this entry : "a.d. MCCLXXXII. O doctissimus bosius anglicus cardinalis see potentiane romane ecclesie camerarius can. s. marie de reno, oremus pro eo." The last English cardinal by the name of Boso was Breackspere, the nephew of Adrian IV. Moroni informs us that in Dec. 1155 he was created cardinal deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and chamberlain of holy church. He was sent on a mission to Portugal, made custode of Castel S. Angelo, and card. priest of S. Pudenziana by Alexander III.* He died in 1181, so that there must be a clerical error in the date given by our necrology, which puts his death in 1282. Some writers make Boso a Benedictine, whilst the necrologium calls him a canon regular. This apparent contradiction may, however, be explained by saying that, whilst being a member of either order he was also affiliated to the other—a thing not unusual in those times. However that may be, he was certainly a great man, a very learned English scholar, and one of the best theologians of his time.

* Moroni, "Dizionario," vol. vii. p. 74.

Sept. 14. The name of an Irishman is also recorded as contributing towards the support of the chapel of St. Thomas. He bequeathed for that purpose 3 shillings sterling. "O philippus de irlanda qui reliquit III. sol. destrilini, operi sancti thome."

These facts make up all that I have been able to glean concerning the English scholars at Bologna. I am aware that they must be only a tithe of all that might be collected on the subject. If, however, the little I have done will induce other students better informed, and with larger libraries at their command, to do more, I shall deem my labour to be amply repaid.

A. ALLARIA, C.R. L.

Innocentius episcopus servus servorum dei Venerabilibus fratribus. . . . Bononien. . . . et Mutinen. Episcopis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ad audientiam nostram dilectis filiis. . . . Priore et conventu de Reno noveritis pervenisse quod cum bone memorie Hildebrandus sancte Romane ecclesie Cardinalis ad honorem Dei et beati Thome martiris novum in ecclesia sancti Salvatoris erexisset altare; et illud obtinuisset auctoritate sedis apostolice consecrari, scolares ex parte illa eandem ecclesiam suis facientes elemosinis ampliari in loco magis idoneo altare in memoriam eiusdem martiris construxerunt, quod auctoritate sedis apostolice desiderant et postulant consecrari. Unde nos pium scolarium propositum in dño commendantes fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta precipiendo mandavimus, ut ad eandem ecclesiam accedentes, reliquiis a priori altari ad secundum cum devotione translatis, et primo amoto, secundum sublato cuiuslibet contradictionis, dilationis et appellationis obstaculo curaretis sollempniter consecrare. Sed vos nondum mandatum estis apostolicum executi, immo tu frater Bononien. ne id fiat diceris impedire. Ne igitur mandatum nostrum surdis videâmini auribus preterire, fraternitati vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus et districte precipimus quatinus saltem hac vice quod super hoc neglexistis hactenus taliter implere curetis quod negligentiam precedentem per subsequentem obedientiam redimatis. Quod sinon ambo his exequendis volueritis aut valueritis interesse tu frater Mutinen. ea sublato appellationis obstaculo nichilominus exequaris.

Dat. Later. 11, Non. Junii, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

ART. VI.—THE FRIARS IN OXFORD.

1. *The Grey Friars in Oxford.* A. G. Little, Oxford Historical Society.
2. *City of Oxford*, vol. ii. Anthony à Wood. Edited by A. Clark. Oxford Historical Society.
3. *Collectanea II.* Oxford Historical Society.
4. *Stubbs' Select Charters.*

THE Mendicant Orders, whose work necessarily lay chiefly in the large towns, soon after their foundation sought a home in the Universities. In this they had three objects: to combat heresy, to minister to the crowded population, and to recruit their own ranks from amongst the learned. The Dominicans therefore chose Bologna as their Italian, Paris as their French, and Oxford as their English head-quarters. At Oxford they established their first convent in the year 1221–2. They were followed by the Franciscans,* according to the Chronicle of Thomas Eccleston, in 1224. In September of that year nine friars—four priests and five laymen—landed at Dover. Their leader was Agnellus of Pisa, the first provincial. After visiting Canterbury these pioneers of the Grey Friars separated, some journeying to London and others to Oxford. The Dominicans received the Franciscans into their convent at Oxford, and they partook of this hospitality until they established themselves in a house hired from Robert le Mercer.

* The mind of St. Francis and his disciples as to the claims of the Holy See may be gathered with sufficient clearness from the following passages of the Rule drawn up by the Saint for his Order:—"Brother Francis promises obedience and reverence to Our Lord the Pope, and to his successors canonically promoted, and to the Church of Rome; and the other Brothers shall be obliged to obey Brother Francis and his successors." "Moreover, in obedience, I enjoin the Ministers that they ask of the Pope one of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, who is to be Governor, protector, and corrector of this brotherhood, to the end that, *being always subject to and under the feet of the same Church*, and established in the Catholic faith, we may, as we have firmly promised, observe poverty and the Holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." These words of St. Francis form a significant commentary on the lectures delivered recently by the Bishop of Peterborough in St. Paul's, in which it is asserted that "it was a mere chance whether Francis would be a heretic or not"!

So soon were the merits of the Grey Friars recognised that in the following year they were obliged to remove to a more ample house. They were joined by "many honest bachelors and many eminent men," and very shortly the land and house they had thus acquired were conferred upon them. The Franciscans rigidly, at any rate during the rule of Agnellus, adhered to the most strict poverty. They frequently actually suffered the pangs of hunger; their houses were mean and inadequate for their numbers. Their enthusiasm sustained them in their self-imposed distress, and their self-sacrifice and hard work amongst the poor, like whom they lived, gained for them many adherents and friends. Amongst these the most distinguished was Robert Grostete, second to none in scholarship and as powerful as he was learned. He resigned the Archdeaconries of Northampton and Leicester in 1231; he accepted the post of Lecturer to the Franciscans at Oxford, and only resigned the office when appointed Bishop of Lincoln in 1235. His three successors in the lectureship were, like him, seculars, and afterwards attained the mitre. They were Master Peter, afterwards a bishop in Scotland; Master Roger Weseham, afterwards Dean of Lincoln and subsequently Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; and Master Thomas Wallensis, Bishop of St. David's. Amongst the laity, Simon de Montfort, the friend of Grostete, was a patron of the Order. Several of the kings also befriended the Oxford Minorites by gifts and endowments: Durham College, the Nunnery of Godston (which gave also to the Dominicans), Osney Abbey (which gave equally to the four Mendicant Orders in Oxford), were their benefactors. Their chief endowments came, however, from legacies. They were mentioned in the wills of people of every rank, and the gifts were mostly, if not in all cases, made upon condition that the Friars should celebrate masses and recite prayers for the souls of the testators.

The Franciscans being established in Oxford and having gained the good wishes of people of every social grade, proceeded to erect an infirmary and small chapel, for which, in 1232, the king gave them "thirty beams in the royal forest of Savernake." A school erected under the auspices of Agnellus was the finest amongst their early squalid buildings, but it was not until twenty years after their settlement in the

University that the spirit of the original rules was enlarged in regard to the buildings of the Order. The change was earnestly combated by those of the earlier school. Adam Marsh laments that even novices are taught to neglect the things of the spirit "for flesh and blood, for mud and walls, for wood and stone, for any kind of worldly gain."* But the opposition was in vain, for, in the words of Anthony à Wood, "So that now these religious guests, being loaden with the said large gifts and others, thought it high time to build a fair convent to the end that those of their Order might be there received, and their auditors and admirers accommodated with room."† This convent was enlarged in 1244 and 1245, in consequence of grants from King Henry III., and in 1310 its dimensions and boundaries were further increased. At the Council of Lyons, in 1274, the Friars of the Sack were forbidden to admit new members, so that the Order might die out with the then existing brothers. In 1309 the convent of the Order being on the eve of being vacated, the Pope, Clement V., on the supplication of John of Brittany, and in accord with the constitution of the Order, published in pursuance of the Council of Constance, by Pope Gregory IX., which placed the lands vacated by the Order at the disposal of the Holy See, granted those in Oxford to the Franciscans. This grant was confirmed by the King, Edward II., giving to the Friars a concession and license to hold the land, the letters patent reciting the provisions of the statutes which made such license of the immediate chief lord necessary in all cases where land was held by religious orders.

Into their new and enlarged "mansion," as à Wood terms the convent, the Friars removed their schools, which had hitherto been held in mean and cramped buildings. They had also, before their acquisition of the land of the Friars of the Sack, erected a large and handsome church in the place of their original small chapel. This church was much sought after as a place of burial, and was therefore an important channel by which benefactions flowed to them.

* Mon. Franc. I. p. 362, quoted by Little, p. 22 : "Quasi carni et sanguine, quasi luto et lateribus, quasi lignis et lapidibus, quasi quibuscunque qualicunque compendiolo mundanis questibus totum dandum esset."

† à Wood, "City of Oxford," ii. p. 356.

Libraries—the “*Libraria Conventus*” and the “*Libraria Scholarium*” *—were also added to the buildings of the Minorites. The eminent Grostete had in 1253 left his books to the Friars, and if those writers be correct who contend that the bequest included not only his own writings, but those of the other authors in his possession, it would in itself have formed the nucleus of a library equal to if not exceeding in extent that of the University itself.

On the Feast of the Assumption, in the year 1221, several of the thirteen Black Friars who had shortly before come from St. Dominic to England, and who had established convents in Canterbury and London, arrived at Oxford. In the words of Anthony à Wood :

“The said Fryers comming neare Oxford, prayed to God with hands lifted up to Heaven, that as they had made a fair progresse hitherto and been kindly received by all, so they through his mercy might be received with the same curtesie by the Oxonian students.”

The strangers sought hospitality and help from the authorities of the University, “and at length of the canons of St. Frideswyde’s, those of Osney, and of the chief burgesses of the town.” † They met with the courtesy for which they had prayed, for in the quaint language of the antiquary they “dived into the favour of all persons in these parts.” They obtained the respect of the learned by their skill in philosophy and divinity, and they gained the love of the canons and townspeople by their “simple and saintlike carriage.”

The king settled them in the Jewry, to the end that by their exemplary carriage and gifts of preaching the Jews of Oxford might be converted to the Christian faith.

Amongst the benefactors of the Dominicans were Isabel de Bulbeck, wife of Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, Walter Malclerke, Bishop of Carlisle, and the Canons of St. Frideswyde’s, who provided them with land and money. Upon the land a convent was built for them at the expense of many benefactors, and a few years later the Countess of Oxford provided them with “a fair oratory and cemetery wherein they might bury their family.”

* à Wood, p. 379.

† à Wood, p. 312.

Concerning this cemetery a dispute arose between the Friars and the Canons of St. Frideswyde's, who, it would seem, should have been consulted in the matter. The Canons appealed to the Pope, and Honorius armed them with a Bull which provided that no person of whatsoever Order should erect any public place or chapel or oratory in the parish of St. Aldate without the permission of the bishop. Afterwards a compromise was effected, and the quarrel ended owing to the intervention of Pope Gregory IX. and of "other considerable persons."

Amongst the buildings of the Dominicans in the Jewry was a large school, which they owed to the munificence of the Bishop of Carlisle and the Countess of Oxford. Here à Wood states, "they verie accurately read and taught." So great was the popularity of the Black Friars, and so many were their "auditors and disciples," that their establishment in the Jewry rapidly proved too small for their needs. In 1259, therefore, they removed to a pleasant isle in the south suburbs, which had been granted to them by King Henry III. Here their mansion was also built for them by that sovereign. In the following century Edward III. gave them a piece of neighbouring ground for the enlargement and defence of their habitation. In their new house the Dominicans established two schools, one theological and the other philosophical. The Friars erected a large church, which was dedicated to St. Nicholas, and consecrated by Gravesend, Bishop of Lincoln.* In it many eminent persons were buried, some having been removed from the oratory to the Jewry. Amongst them were the chief benefactors to the Oxford Friars Preachers, the Countess of Oxford and the Bishop of Carlisle, and Richard Fisaorius, D.D., the first Englishman of the Order of St. Dominic who wrote commentaries on the Book of Sentences; Cardinal Joyce, and Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, the ill-fated favourite of Edward II. From the Dissolution to the time of à Wood stone coffins were frequently dug up at the site upon which the church had stood before its destruction, and these contained bodies, sometimes with chalices in their hands, rings on their fingers, and medals hung round the neck. Fragments of

* In this church the famous "Mad Parliament" was held in 1258.

parchments with seals attached were also discovered in some of the coffins, and several leaden baskets containing human hearts were also unearthed. The library of the Friars was large and full of books. It was especially rich in works written by members of the Order.

The Carmelites were the next Order of Friars to settle in Oxford. They arrived in England between the years 1238 and 1240. Their coming was at the request of Sir Richard de Grey and Sir John Vesey, two commanders of the Crusaders who had visited Mount Carmel during the war in the Holy Land in the reign of Henry III. They were first established at Ailesford in Kent, and Holyn, near Alnwick, in Northumberland.

The Carmelites or White Friars were now ambitious to secure for themselves a settlement in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in order that their novices might be properly trained in philosophy and theology. Before this was accomplished the novices frequented the Universities and took their degrees, as if they had been ordinary secular students. In 1254 Henry de Hanna, the Provincial, obtained from the Governor of Oxford Castle, Nicholas de Meules, a baron of Somersetshire, the grant of a house in Stockwell Street, in the suburbs of Oxford. The Carmelites, like the Dominicans and Franciscans had already done, soon found that their original house and schools had become too small for their requirements. They found another benefactor in Nicholas de Stockwell, a wealthy burgess of Oxford, who had for several years been mayor of that city. He granted them a plot of land adjacent to their existing property, and the Friars sought and obtained the permission of the Bishop of Lincoln and of the Abbot and community of Osney to build an oratory. The monks of Osney, however, only granted the required leave upon certain terms, to observe which the Friars were bound to renew their oath every five years. The benevolence of other landowners enabled the Carmelites to extend their boundaries, and they therefore laid out gardens and walks for recreation. They remained in their original convent, Stockwell Street, for sixty years, until they removed to the Royal Palace, on the opposite side of the road. How the king came to grant Beaumont Palace to the Friars is fully described by Anthony à Wood :

When King Edward I., therefore, waged war with the Scots, anno Domini 1304, he took with him out of England a Carmelite Friar named Robert Baston, accounted in his time the most famous poet of this nation, purposely, as it seems, that he should write poetically of his victories that he should obtaine there. The which that he did in heroicks with great ingenuity is by divers confest, and thereupon obtained favour from his prince.

Again, when King Edward II. (accounted a good poet in his time) maintained the same war after the death of his father, he entertained the said Baston for that purpose if at any time he should prove victorious there. At length—viz., in the year 1313*—the said King encountering Robert Bruce, King of the Scots, and the army at Strivelin (Stirling), was, after a sharp bickering, in which most of the English nobles were slain, forced with his bishops to fly—in which flight Baston telling the King that if he would call upon the Mother of God for mercy he should find favour; he did so accordingly, with a promise then made to her, that if he should get from the hands of his enemies and find safety, he would erect some house in England to receive the poor Carmelites. A little after these things were, the said Baston was taken prisoner, and being discovered by the Scots what his office was, was by them compelled to change his fancy and to write of the victory of the Scots King; the which he doing very faintly, was afterwards sent home. Soon after the King (who safely arrived in England, but with great loss) being put in mind of his promise, Baston and others were not wanting to persuade him to give to the said Carmelites his palace or mansion-house in Oxford. At length, the King, by divers solicitations and with fair promises for his soul's health, did give them the same mansion.†

The King also appointed that twenty-four Friars were to dwell in the palace, and that each of them should receive yearly eight marks from the Exchequer. Shortly afterwards the King granted the Friars two tenements adjoining the palace, in order that they might enlarge it. In order to make their new property more secure, the Carmelites obtained from Pope John XXII. a Bull whereby their possession was confirmed to them, and giving them permission to migrate into the palace, and to dispose of their former convent.

They next obtained, at the King's request, from the Abbey of Osney, the patrons of St. Mary Magdalen's Church, in which parish the palace was situated, permission to celebrate divine service, and to bury in the Friary. Leave was also obtained

* This should be 1314. The battle of Bannockburn was fought on June 24, 1314.

† à Wood, p. 420. The deed by which the palace was conveyed is set out by à Wood on p. 421.

from Robert de Carsington, vicar of the parish, and these grants, together with the earlier ones of the Pope, King, and Abbey of Osney, were confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln in February 1318. In Beaumont Palace, as in their original house, the Carmelites established a philosophical and a theological school, which were much resorted to on account of the learning of the Friars who taught in them. Their library, of which there is an imperfect catalogue in Leland, contained the works of the most eminent men of the Order. The schools of the Carmelites were not only a nursery for the Order in England, but they were also open to secular students, many of whom, for the sake of the literary training they could thus obtain, lived with the Friars and performed exercises with them. Amongst them was Reginald Cardinal Pole, who subsequently entered Corpus Christi College.

The history of the settlement in Oxford of the remaining great Order of Mendicants differs but little from that of its predecessors. The Austin Friars arrived in England either in the year 1243 or in 1252. According to a manuscript in Oriel College Library, and quoted by à Wood, the earlier date is the true one, and the same document asserts that their founder was Richard de Clare, son of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. The better opinion, however, appears to be that Pope Innocent IV., having given the Order permission to disperse amongst the different countries, and to found houses and celebrate divine service in such places as they thought fit, some of the Friars the next year came to England, and were established in London by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex. The community some time after its settlement in London determined to send some of its members to Oxford to found a house in that city. The Friars were well aware of the hospitality and help which had been extended to the other Orders, and were confident that they would meet with the same success, especially as they were already famous for their profound knowledge of theology and philosophy. Upon their arrival in Oxford they hired a small and obscure house near the public schools, but were not allowed to remain long in it. A wealthy knight, Sir John Handlow, of Borstal, bought for them land, and built them a house and oratory. This gift the King confirmed in 1268, and Henry III. at the same

time ordered his tenant, Borgo de Clare, rector of St. Peter's-in-the-East, to which living the manor of Holywell then belonged, to grant them a piece of adjoining land, and John de Coleshull, Mayor of Oxford, charged his property with the payment to the rector of the rent of the land. The King again in the following year confirmed the property to the Friars, and in 1274 all the grants were confirmed and ratified to the Friars by the Pope, Gregory X.

The schools of the Austin Friars were divided, like those of the other Mendicant Orders, into the theological and the philosophical. The schools being conveniently situated for the University, the students were led, partly for greater convenience and partly by the skill of the Augustinians in disputation, to hold their exercises there. From this custom arose an injunction, and then an University statute, that no Bachelor of Arts should take his Master's degree unless he was thought worthy and capable of answering these Friars. Every Bachelor so long as he retained that degree was bound every year once to oppose and once to answer the Augustinians. He was warned or summoned to these exercises fifteen days before the date which had been fixed by certain officials called collators. The disputations were first in the old logic, secondly in the new logic, and thirdly in philosophy. The Augustinians ontstripped the other Orders in repute, and flourished chiefly owing to these exercises. Great crowds flocked to hear them, and a great pestilence which broke out in the convent in 1529 was attributed to the concourse of people which was in the habit of gathering there. In consequence of the pestilence the disputations were held in St. Mary's Church for a year, after which they were resumed in the house of the Friars, and were held there until the Dissolution, when they were again removed to St. Mary's.

Though all the four great Mendicant Orders met with benefactors, as we have seen, who provided them with land and houses, their chief means of livelihood, as their name implies, were the alms they received from the devout. In Oxford, during the fourteenth century, one of the Friars was appointed collector for the Franciscans, but as a rule several members of the community fulfilled the office of "procuratores" or "limitors." They were accustomed to go begging two by two, accompanied by a boy or lay brother, who carried the

offerings, which were as a rule in kind and not in money. The office was disagreeable and the results precarious. Mr. Little gives an interesting quotation to this effect from the *opera inedita* of Roger Bacon, who sought the help of his brother in carrying out the commands of the Pope :

But how often I was looked upon as a dishonest beggar, how often I was repulsed, how often put off with empty hopes, what confusion I suffered within myself, I cannot express to you. Even my friends did not believe me, as I could not explain the matter to them ; so I could not proceed in this way. Reduced to the last extremities, I compelled my poor friends to contribute all that they had, and to sell many things, and to pawn the rest, often at usury, and I promised them I would send you all the details of the expenses, and would faithfully procure full payment at your hands. And yet, owing to their poverty, I frequently abandoned the work, frequently I gave it up in despair, and forebore to proceed.

When the Friars were collecting for their own community they probably did not meet with so many difficulties and rebuffs as did this famous Franciscan, but that their efforts were often unsuccessful is certain, as it is recorded that the community of Grey Friars frequently suffered from want of food. The payment of royal grants was equally uncertain, and in their necessities the Friars were often compelled to sue their debtors in the Court of the Chancellor of the University. In the fifteenth and the following century, laymen were occasionally employed as the legal representatives of the community ; sometimes the warden appeared in person, but more usually one of the Friars was the advocate appointed by his brethren. A syndicus was, according to the statutes of the Order, to transact all the legal business of the Friary, and to receive in the name of the Catholic and Roman Church, for the use of the Friars, all pecuniary alms and bequests, or all such alms and bequests as could be converted into money. This provision was expressly made to preserve the Order in its purity and prevent the brethren being immersed in secular affairs.

The Friars were also beneficiaries under the wills of a vast number of testators who desired the benefit after death of their masses and prayers. The Mendicants, unlike the more ancient Orders, possessed but little land. What they had was contiguous to their convents. They used it as pasture land, and sold whatever remained of their milk and cheeses, after

supplying the wants of the community. Another source of revenue was the rent received by the Friars from the University and others for the use of their churches and buildings on certain occasions. Of the gifts, bequests, and fees received by the Friars, they were obliged by law, in pursuance of the command of Pope Boniface VIII., in A.D. 1295, to pay one-fourth to the rector of the parish in which their house was situated. In 1521, however, Leo X. exempted the Friars from the payment, "owing to the importunate exaction of the funeral fourth by some rectors of churches." A balance-sheet of income and expenditure, known as a "compotus," was kept annually in every convent, and if it was omitted an ex-warden was bound to give an account to his successor. A list of Friars who had died in the convent, and of living or dead benefactors, for whom masses were to be said, was also kept in each priory. A record was also kept by the minister of each province of the lives, good or bad, of the Friars in his jurisdiction. The acts of provincial councils and the grant of all letters of confraternity were also carefully recorded.

The Friars conducted their religious observances, and kept the canonical hours with little if any divergence from the order and ritual of the monastic Orders.*

In their convents the Friars spent their time in teaching, studying, and, though Hallam seems to imply the contrary, in transcribing manuscripts. The general body of Friars lived and slept in common. They had no privacy in which to study, and their acquisition of learning was accompanied not only by this inconvenience, but in winter by the absence of warmth and of adequate light. The master of the schools and the lector, however, as well as the warden, were permitted to have separate chambers, and the privacy of the master of the schools and of the lector was at certain times inviolable, and later on Wiclif makes it a charge against the Mendicants that "capped Friars that were called Maisters of Divinitie have their chamber and service as lords or kings."

The Friars possessed excellent libraries. They were untiring collectors of books, and so enthusiastic were they in this work,

* Little, p. 90, quoting Mon. Franc. i. 564: *Arch. für Litt. u. Kirch. Gesch.* vol. i. p. 189.

that Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, stated before the Pope in 1257 :

That in the faculties of Arts, Theology, Canon Law, and, as many assert, Medicine and Civil Law, scarcely a useful book is to be found in the market, but all are bought up by the Friars, so that in every convent is a great and noble library, and every one of them who has a recognised position in the Universities (and such are now innumerable) has also a noble library.

The libraries of the Friars were especially rich in the works of members of their respective Orders, and, taken collectively, must have formed a magnificent and complete storehouse of scholastic philosophy. At the Dissolution the triumph of the "new learning" was complete. A barbarous onslaught was made upon these venerable libraries. The most precious volumes were turned to the basest uses, and priceless manuscripts were torn up and used to scare the deer in Magdalen College park. From the general ruin few remains are extant, and these were probably disposed of by the Friars at the approach of the coming storm, for Leland states, in the case of the Franciscans at any rate, that at the Dissolution they had nothing in the way of learned books. Mr. Little gives a list of the manuscripts from the Franciscan library which are still to be found. The Bodleian possesses the "*De Civitate Dei*," annotated by Grostete, and a "*Treatise on Music*," given to the Grey Friars of Oxford by the author, Friar John of Tewkesbury in 1351. Caius College, Cambridge, has a copy of the Gospels in Greek, and a Greek Psalter. In Lincoln College library is a MS. of Grostete's lesser works, with St. Augustine's "*De Concordia Quatuor Evangeliorum*," given by the Franciscans to Gascoine, and presented by him to Durham College. Jerome's "*Catalogue of Illustrious Men*" is in the library of Lambeth Palace; while bound up in Phillipps' MS. are the single copy of Adam Marsh's Letters, some Treatises mostly relating to the Franciscans, Treatises against the Mendicants, Grostete's Sermon in Praise of Poverty, and Eccleston's Chronicle.

The educational work of the Mendicant Orders was not confined to the Universities. Schools were attached to their convents in other places, but it was especially to Oxford that they looked for a continuous stream of teachers who had

acquired culture and learning there. When Friar William, of Nottingham, was Provincial of the Grey Friars there were thirty Franciscans who solemnly disputed, and three or four who lectured without disputation, in the English province outside the Universities, for he had assigned to the Universities students for each convent to succeed to the lecturers on their death or removal. The rule as to assigning students to each convent at the commencement of their University career was not strictly adhered to. Occasionally Friars would study with a view to lecturing in a particular convent, but more generally, when a lectureship fell vacant in a Friary, the community would apply to the Provincial Minister for the appointment of some Friar whom they particularly desired to have amongst them. The appointments were made by the Provincial Chapter, upon which the convents were in the habit of bringing to bear the influence of their powerful patrons in support of their candidate. The lecturer's appointment was for one year, but he was eligible for re-election at the request of the community. The Friars did not confine themselves to teaching members of their own Orders. They lectured to outside communities, as, for instance, the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, to whom a Franciscan was theological teacher for many years. The fame and work of the Franciscan school at Oxford was not, moreover, merely English. It was European, and Friars came there to study from Scotland, Ireland, France, Aquitaine, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Germany. From the Oxford school teachers were supplied to many of the Franciscan schools in universities and friaries on the Continent, and we find famous lecturers summoned from Oxford to the University of Paris, Lombardy, and the Court of Rome. Amongst these were John Wallensis, William of Gainsborough, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham.

Oxford held an important place in the Franciscan organisation, being the head of a "custody" which contained, in addition to its own convent, those of Reading, Bedford, Stamford in Lincolnshire, Nottingham, Northampton, Leicester, and Grantham. The custodian had apparently the right of making bye-laws within his jurisdiction. Two custodians of Oxford—Peter of Tewkesbury and John of Stamford—rose to the higher office of Provincial Minister. Several Provincial

Chapters were held at Oxford, and at that of 1239 a successful appeal was made to the Pope against the inquisitorial visitations of Elias, the Minister-General, and his agent in England. In 1289 three of the four principal Mendicant Orders held their Provincial Chapters in Oxford.

The Friars took a leading part in the affairs of the University. They and the Monastic Orders were practically its founders. The Mendicants, by their skill in disputation and deep learning in scholastic philosophy, raised it to an equality with the University of Paris. Before the college system was introduced the regulars had schools and monasteries in which students lived and received their education. The Benedictines had four colleges—Durham, Gloucester, St. Mary's, and Canterbury. The Cistercians one—St. Bernard's. There were seven friaries belonging to the Austin, Black, Grey, White, Trinitarian, the Crutched and Penitentiarian Friars. The secular students as a rule lived in small inns or halls, of which there were upwards of eighty, and it was not until Walter de Merton founded his college and drew up his code of rules that for seculars anything like the present college system prevailed. It was the Franciscan model that he followed to a great extent in establishing Merton College; but he was careful to exclude the regular clergy from his charity, because they were already provided for, and because he was desirous of placing the secular clergy and laity in as good a position. Balliol College owed even more to the Franciscans than did Merton, for, according to two authorities,* it was at the suggestion of her Franciscan confessor that Devorguila, widow of Sir John de Balliol, endowed and established the house for poor scholars which her husband had partly founded. Friar Richard de Slikeburne was her agent in planning and establishing Balliol College. One of the Visitors or Proctors, who had great powers under the statutes of the College, was, moreover, always a Franciscan. The important place which the Friars occupied in the University may be gathered from the fact that in 1244 the deed of acknowledgment which was prepared on the occasion of King Henry III. constituting a special tribunal for the scholars, was executed by the Prior of the Dominicans and the Minister of

* Twyne; Woodford.

the Franciscans, as well as by the Chancellor of the University, the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Cornwall, and Friar Robert Bacon.

A material difference between the customs of the University and the system enjoined by the rules of the Mendicant Orders gave rise to dissension between the Friars and the University authorities, which increased in bitterness as the university gained strength by the foundation of colleges. The University required every student to graduate in Arts before taking a theological degree; the rules of the Friars forbade them to study anything but theology and canon law. In 1253 Friar Thomas of York petitioned to be allowed "to ascend the chair of ordinary regent in Holy Scripture." Objection was taken that he had not ruled in Arts, and the question was debated for over a fortnight by members of the University. It was finally decided that Friar Thomas should be allowed to take his degree, but that a statute should be passed providing for the future that no one should incept in theology unless he had previously graduated in Arts in some University, had read one book of the Canon of Scripture or of the Sentences, and had publicly preached in the University. The right of dispensing from the statute was preserved, but a clause was added by which any one seeking to extort a grace of this sort by means of the influence of any "magnate" was to be *ipso facto* expelled. The report was to be signed, amongst others, by Friar Adam Marsh. He, however, disapproved of the proposed law, and refused to sign on the ground that the power of dispensation would not benefit the Mendicants, as by the opposition of a single voice the grace might be refused even to the best men. Seeing that his opposition would be futile, he eventually left Oxford on the day that the statute was passed. The same question was already agitating the University of Paris, and the controversy broke out again at Oxford with increased bitterness in 1311. The Dominicans were now the assailants of the University. They complained that graces were frequently refused—as Adam Marsh had foreseen—to fit candidates, and demanded the repeal of the statute. The Friars also protested against the removal of the vespers or disputations on the eve of a new Master's inception, and the trial sermons of Bachelors of Divinity from the Dominican

convent, where they had hitherto been held, to St. Mary's Church. They also objected to a statute which prohibited any one from lecturing exegetically on the Bible until he had lectured on the Sentences of Peter the Lombard. These complaints, amongst others, were embodied in an appeal to Rome, and Pope Clement V. decided to hear and determine the matter in private Consistory. The Dominicans had some difficulty in serving the notices of appeal. The Friar who bore that to be served on the Chancellor was prevented by his servant and others entering the school, where he was lecturing. The Dominican, however, waited until the Chancellor came out, and when he tendered the document and it was refused, thrust it in the folds of the Doctor's gown. The Chancellor threw it on the ground, at the same time making use of abusive language. The Dominican Proctor next attempted to serve congregation with the notice. He was summarily ejected from St. Mary's, but clambering with assistance to an open window he shouted the notice of appeal at the congregation, and nailed the copy on the door from which he had so recently made a compulsory exit. The cause was eventually transferred to England, and tried before arbitrators appointed by the Pope. The award confirmed the statutes complained of, but made three concessions to the Friars. Every Bachelor of Divinity was to preach one sermon in the Dominican Church before proceeding to the Doctor's degree; when a Friar sought to graduate in Divinity without having graduated in Arts, every Master was required to swear that he would not refuse the grace, except for "the common utility and honour of the University." If any Master did refuse the grace he was required to state his reasons, and if they were found on investigation to be insufficient, the grace was *ipso facto* to be deemed granted; new regulations were made as to the passing of statutes. The University appears to have neglected to act in the spirit of the award, for in 1388 Richard II. severely admonished the authorities for maliciously preventing the Friars from graduating in theology. In 1421 the King and Archbishop of Canterbury remonstrated with the University for similar conduct, but in 1447 the Friars were allowed to receive the licence to incept on paying forty shillings towards the building of the new schools.

It must not be understood, however, that the Friars were in these contests striving to avoid a training in Arts. It was merely a question of taking the Arts degree. Their own course of study included eight years devoted to Arts while in their convent, and some theology before leaving for the University. When the student reached Oxford he spent another six years in studying—chiefly the Bible. After this he was presented to the Chancellor and Proctors for his degree by his tutor, a Regent Master of his Order. Inquiries were then instituted as to his knowledge of the liberal arts, his age, morals and stature.* If the result proved satisfactory, he was allowed to oppose in Theology, and after two years to respond. This rule was apparently superseded in 1358, when it was enacted that no religious who had not ruled in Arts should be allowed to read the Sentences until he had opposed duly and publicly for a whole year in the ordinary disputations of the Masters, and no other member of the same Order was permitted to oppose at the same time. Dispensations were, however, very frequently given. After nine years of study the Friar was allowed to take the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and to lecture publicly in the schools on the Sentences of Peter the Lombard. On the presentation of candidates for this degree one at least of the Regents in Theology was required to swear that he knew him to be a fit person in morals and learning, the other Regents that they believed him to be so. Within a year from this time the new Bachelor was bound to lecture on the Sentences for three terms, submitting to argument and replying in the accepted interpretation. He was not permitted to go beyond the accepted reading, or to discuss doubtful questions more than once a term, except at the first and last lectures on each book of the Lombard. In the first year, a sermon, either at the Black or Grey Friars', was obligatory, after 1303, at St. Mary's, another at St. Mary's, and a third at the Dominican church. For two more years the Friar was bound to study and to lecture *biblice*, and after a further year he had to respond to eight Regents, either at vespers or inceptions. As to the ceremony of inception itself, the procedure included first the grace asked of congregation ; secondly,

* Mun. Acad., 204, 388.

the deponing by all the Regent Masters in Theology who were present, the reception of the Chancellor's licence to incept, the oath to observe the statutes of the University, and to incept within a year of his admission. The licentiate, on the day preceding his vespers, requested each Master of Theology to attend the ceremony, which was held until the beginning of the fourteenth century in the church of the candidate's Order, and afterwards in St. Mary's. All the Masters present had the right of bringing forward arguments against the inceptor. The inception took place the following day, and the inceptor was then formally admitted into the guild of the Masters.

The expenses of inception were exceedingly heavy. The inceptor was, according to ancient custom, obliged to feast all the Regent Masters and to provide them with robes, but in later times a commutation of the fees, which still remained excessive, was permitted. A Friar's degree cost about ten marks, or about £80 of present money, but the sums varied considerably. At any rate, the cost of a degree amounted to more than the annual income the ordinary friar-student received for exhibitions. The students, therefore, were obliged, like the rest of the Friars, to resort to mendicancy. The permission to commute was obtained through Papal influence.

Dispensations from necessary regency were frequently obtained by the Friars, either on condition of saying masses, preaching, lecturing gratuitously, or paying money. The procedure of Friars to degrees was specially regulated by Papal enactments.

Such was the academical life of the Friars. They not only distinguished themselves for the greater part of the time from their advent to the Dissolution by their learning; but they were also pre-eminent in the ranks of the clergy for their hard work amongst the people. They visited the poor, preached in and out of their churches, and were constantly ministering to a continuous stream of penitents in the confessional. In all this labour they met with opposition from the beneficed clergy who found their congregations and their fees going to the Mendicant Orders. The Bishops were loth to license the Friars to hear confessions. Out of twenty Franciscans, including such eminent men as John Duns Scotus and Robert Cowton, for whom the episcopal licence was asked, only eight received it. The Friars, however, were for a long period the best beloved of the people.

Jealousies between the Orders, the patronage of the sovereigns and the rich, their interference in politics, and their consequent relaxation of their original rules, lessened their popularity and made the Dissolution (which in their case in their earlier years could not have been dreamed of) possible. Mr. Little gives instances of charges made against the Friars, but very fairly points out that though accusations of immorality were made by the followers of Wiclif, Wiclif himself is silent upon the point. The particular cases which Mr. Little has discovered in the records of the past are so few, that they merely prove that the life of the Friars generally was unexceptionable. These cases, moreover, will not bear investigation. One of these is that of Friar Bryan, and the charge was made by one who himself was accused of immorality, and worked to clear himself, but who was convicted and fined. Friar Robert Beste was brought before the Chancellor's Court on some charge which is not recorded, but was apparently acquitted. In a third case, Friar Arthur, B.D., was accused of immorality, but was not convicted. The Dissolution spread havoc amidst the Mendicant Friars of Oxford. Where fair churches, convents and libraries once stood, there is the abomination of desolation: scarcely a trace of their existence is to be found. The land was sold, the buildings pulled down, the libraries dispersed, the Friars scattered abroad, in order that the "lion old, obscene, and furious made," might enrich himself and his followers. What became of the greater number of the Friars is not known. Of the few that can be traced, some became secular priests, one or two embraced lay professions.

The Oxford Historical Society has done good work in publishing almost simultaneously Mr. Little's history of the Grey Friars in Oxford, and the topographical works of Anthony à Wood. A previous work, "The Collectanea," contains also a valuable paper by the Rev. H. Rashdall, M.A., Fellow of Hertford College, on the Dominicans and their struggle with the University. Mr. Little's work is, however, in one or two instances branded with inaccuracy and unfairness. He relies for facts upon the bitterest enemies of the Catholic faith; for instance, when he states that the Friars commuted penances for money, and that the object of many of those who joined the Orders after the thirteenth century was a superstitious belief

that they would save their souls by the externals of religion. For the latter proposition he cites Latimer: "I have thought that if I had been a friar in a cowl I could not have been damned nor afraid of death; and in my sickness I have been tempted to become a friar." The passage quoted hardly bears the interpretation put upon it. It may mean that the holiness of the life of the Friars and their great faith led Latimer to think that if he could attain to equal merit he would have a better chance of salvation. At this we should not cavil.

Notwithstanding certain blemishes of the Oxford Society, the publications are very valuable historically, not only as telling the story of the Mendicants in Oxford, but as showing the utter fallacy of the "Continuity Theory." Mr. Little, like many other Protestant writers, is eager to catch at any straw with which to build up a theory that the pre-Reformation Church was anti-papal. He remarks, in dealing with the surrender to the King of the lands received from the Pope at the dissolution of the Friars of the Sack, that this was done "probably at the instance of the Crown, and as a practical protest against the Papal claims." But upon comparison of the licence to hold in mortmain which Edward II. gave to the Friars, and which was necessary under the statutes, in regard to the lands conveyed to them by the Holy See, with the re-grant given by the sovereign after the surrender, it would appear far more probable that the later transaction took place in order to benefit the Friars. Burdensome incidents of tenure attached to all land except that held in frankalmoign. The licence of the King contained no words showing that the Friars held their land by this tenure. The second grant, however, in the habendum includes the necessary words, "in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam," so that from that time no one could trouble the Franciscans for any of the ordinary incidents of tenure. Mr. Little in the appendix admits that the transaction may have been merely an additional confirmation of the grant to the Friars. If he had read Anthony à Wood carefully he would have discovered that this confirmation, additional to the license in mortmain, was by no means unusual even in cases where the land had been granted by an English citizen. For instance, the King confirmed in 1268 the gift of Sir John Handlow to

the Austin Friars, and again in the following year confirmed the property to the Friars. In 1274, moreover, all the grants were confirmed and ratified by the Pope. Read in its true light, the transaction in regard to the land of the Franciscans proves the Papal character of the English Church. The sovereign accepts as valid the grant of land by the Pope whose title to alienate it was based on the decree of a Council. If the Pope was not acknowledged as the head of the Catholic Church, of which the English was then a part, such a Papal conveyance would have been impossible. If the Holy See in the present day were to transfer the temporalities of the See of Canterbury to that of York, or of one Anglican sisterhood to another—for we believe there are no recognised orders of men—would, or could, the Crown ratify the conveyance?

It is sometimes asserted that Monastic Orders and Friars were Papal, but that the secular clergy were not. There can be no other meaning in this except that there were two hostile bodies belonging to different Churches within one Church. The regular clergy were duly acknowledged as brother priests—though at times there was friction in relation to fees—of the same Church. They heard confessions, they celebrated Mass, and conducted the other offices of religion in exactly the same way as the seculars. Moreover, we find Bishops of the English Church endowing the religious Orders; for example, the Bishop of Carlisle endowed the Dominicans in Oxford. Another Bishop, Gravesend of Lincoln, consecrated their church, while the first four lectors to the Franciscans themselves became Bishops.

There can be no doubt, then, that the religious Orders were accepted as part and parcel of the English Church, that they were its priests just as much as the secular clergy. Yet the Friars passed from one University to another, from Oxford to Paris, from Paris to Lombardy, from Lombardy to Rome. They came to Oxford from Portugal, Spain, Ireland, France, Italy, Aquitaine and Germany. In all these countries they were acknowledged as priests of the Church of each country, and celebrated the same Holy Mass and other offices of religion. Can the advocates of the continuity theory suggest that the present Anglican Establishment is the same Church as the present or past Churches in Catholic countries abroad, or can they even suggest that they are members of the same

Churches as those founded in Germany and Switzerland by Luther and Calvin ?

Do the modern Anglicans pray to the Mother of God as did King Edward II. ? Does the present Sovereign, though head of the Church, have a Friar who is under the obedience of the Pope as confessor ?

The Friars, moreover, had to obtain Bulls from Rome before changing their convent, even from one side of a street to the other, as we have seen in the case of the Carmelites ? Can the Anglicans assert that these members of the pre-Reformation Church were not Popish ? Do the present Anglicans obtain Bulls of confirmation to their property as did the Friars ?

The Friars and the English Church as a whole received a great part of their endowments on condition that Masses should be said for the repose of the souls of the benefactors. The modern Anglican Church styles such Masses "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits," and the Parliament which brought the modern Establishment into being made such benefactions illegal as being to "superstitious uses," and the law remains in force at the present moment.

The Syndicus of each Friary received all donations in the name of the Catholic and Roman Church. Is it possible that any one can believe that the Friars belonged to the same Church as that created against the protest of Bishops, Clergy, and Convocation by Elizabeth ? Did the secular clergy in 1295 refuse the benefit of Pope Boniface VII.'s command that the Friars should pay one-fourth of their fees to the parish priests, or did they even protest against Papal interference when in 1521 Pope Leo X. repealed the command.

Take, again, the case of the University of Oxford. Its authorities cannot by any pretence be severed from the general body of the Anglican Church, yet when they received the charter creating a Chancellor's Court, the deed of acknowledgment was signed not only by the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Cornwall, and the Chancellor of the University, but also by the Prior of the Dominicans, the Minister of the Franciscans, and by Friar Robert Bacon. When the Dominicans appealed to Rome the University made no protest in regard to Papal jurisdiction, and for this reason—

that the University was as Catholic and Roman as the Dominicans themselves.* As a fact, Friars and Seculars, the Archbishops who received their jurisdiction by the gift of the Pallium from the Pope himself, the Bishops, clergy, and faithful celebrated or assisted at the Holy Offices of Religion, and did their good works of charity and devotion in the words of the Dictum of Kenilworth :

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. To the honour and glory of the Omnipotent God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, of the glorious and exalted Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, and all the Saints by whose merits and intercessions we are governed on earth ; and of the Most Holy Catholic and Roman Church, which is of all the Faithful the Mother and Mistress, and of Our Most Holy Father and Lord the Pope, Clement himself, the Chief Pontiff of the Universal Church.†

G. B. LANCASTER WOODBURNE.

* The letter of the University of Oxford to Martin V. in 1427 is signed "the most devoted Sons of your Holiness, the Chancellor and the unanimous body of the Masters of your University of Oxford." In the latter the University styles itself "the handmaiden of your Holiness," and hails the Pope as "Sole Sovereign Pontiff, Vicar of Christ upon earth, and most true successor of St. Peter." Recalling the benefits received from the Papal patronage by "the most humble sons of your aforesaid University," they add : "For which, on bended knees, prostrate at the feet of your most holy Papaey, in all obedience, we render you the tribute of our thanks."—Wilkin's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 476.

† Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, "Select Charters," p. 419 : "In nomine sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Amen. Ad honorem et Gloriam Omnipotentis Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et gloriosæ et præcelsæ Dei Genetricis Virginis Mariæ et beatorum quorum in terris mentis et intercessionibus gubernamur ; Sacrosanctæ Catholicæ atque Apostolicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ quæ est omnium fidelium mater et Magistra, Sanctissimi Patris et Domini Nostri Clementis ipsius Universalis Ecclesiæ summi Pontificis."

ART. VII.—THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE CISALPINE CLUB.

THE Cisalpine Club was formed on the 12th day of April in the year 1792. It began at a meeting in the Freemasons' Tavern, when dinner was ordered for twenty persons at seven shillings per head. But it appears from the minute book that the thirteen gentlemen whose names are given below were the only ones present. The chair was taken by Henry Clifford, Esq., a barrister. The other twelve gentlemen who sat down to dinner were Lord Petre, Honble. Charles Dormer, Sir John Throckmorton, Rev. Joseph Wilks, Charles Butler, Geo. Heneage, Honble. Robert Petre, Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Sir Walter Blount, Geo. Courtenay, Henry Errington, and Wm. Cruise. After dinner it was resolved: "That the above-named do form a club, by the name of the 'Cisalpine Club,' and do agree to the following rules." Thirteen rules were passed unanimously. The subscription was to be three guineas a year; the treasurer was to be elected yearly; dinner was to be on the table at "half after five" precisely on the second Tuesday of the months of February, March, April, May, and June; and the bill was to be paid at nine o'clock; a friend might be introduced on paying ten shillings and sixpence; there were regulations for proposing and balloting for members, and for new rules, and any changes in the club; each member on his admittance was to sign his name to the rules; and the order in which the members should be chairman and vice-president was provided for. It will be observed that the rules do not make any mention of the object which the gentlemen had in forming the club. But the title of the club, "Cisalpine," was sufficiently significant; and a resolution which was come to after the rules had passed also indicates the principle on which the club was based. It was as follows: "Every member of the present Catholic Committee shall be an original member of this club, unless he thinks proper to decline it, upon receiving notice of the foregoing resolutions." "The present committee" above alluded to was that which

is known in the history of English Catholics as the "Committee of Ten." This resolution at once reveals the spirit which was to animate the club. The Committee of Ten was formed on the 3rd of May 1787, and its object, as stated at the time of its establishment, was, "to watch over and promote the public interest of the English Roman Catholics." But unfortunately the Committee passed all the bounds of propriety, invaded the domain of the Church, and would have had the Catholics of England to follow them rather than the Vicars Apostolic in settling affairs in which matters of conscience were involved. It was this Committee which issued the objectionable Protestation, the oath condemned by the Vicars Apostolic, and what has been called the "Schismatical Protest." It was this Committee, also, which tried to fix upon English Catholics the title of "Protesting Catholic Dissenters," and which did its utmost to limit the relief given by the Act of 1791 to those members of the Catholic Church who would assume that odious and ridiculous designation. This design was, as is well known, defeated by the energy of Milner and the common sense of William Pitt. The whole spirit of the Committee of Ten was essentially Cisalpine as opposed to Ultramontane, and for that reason the club assumed its name.

A special object of those who formed the club was to educate the young men of the Catholic body in the principles which had guided the Committee. This appears in a letter written by one of the "principal founders and patrons of the committee," as quoted by Milner. "The merits of it" (the Protestation), says the writer of the letter, "would soon be frittered away, if the spirit of that Protestation were not preserved by such a meeting, where the young men may continue to support their fathers' principles, who signed the 'Protestation' before they came into the public world."*

This "Protestation," according to Dr. Milner, is an "instrument drawn up in ungrammatical language, with inconclusive reasoning and erroneous theology." The oath which the Committee founded on the "Protestation" was condemned by all the Vicars Apostolic. The "Schismatical Protest" was a very formal and at the same time a very silly appeal from the condemnation of the oath by the Bishops,

* *Vide* "History of Catholic Emancipation," vol. i. p. 195.

“to all the Catholic Churches in the Universe, and especially to the first of Catholic Churches, the Apostolic See, rightly informed.” “The Schismatical Protest” was not a respectful appeal from the Vicars Apostolic: it “publicly and schismatically disclaims submission to their bishops;” protests against their encyclical; and makes false and injurious charges against them.”* I have entered into the above particulars because the spirit of the Cisalpine Club is to be taken from that of the “Committee of Ten.”

The next meeting of the club took place on the 24th of the same month of April. Nothing of importance was transacted except the admission of fourteen gentlemen by ballot. The following meeting was on the 8th of May. There were twenty members present and ten visitors; the names are not given, except that of Mr. Charles Butler, who was in the chair. Eight new members were elected. The dinner was at six shillings a head, and as the bill amounted to £25 17s. 6d. the average of wine drunk by each person present must have been rather more than ten shillings worth; not very much in those days. On occasion of the last meeting of the club, for the year 1792, on the 12th of June, twenty-four members being present, it was resolved:

That this club having been informed that it is the design of the Vicars Apostolic to endeavour to procure a regular Church government for the Catholics of this country, are determined to co-operate, as far as in them lies, with the laudable intentions of the Vicars Apostolic, convinced of the propriety and necessity of the measure in itself. And that in such case it will be in their power to provide in a more becoming and honourable manner for the maintenance of their clergy than under the present circumstances.

The idea in the minds of the lay gentlemen was that bishops in ordinary would be more independent of Rome than the Vicars Apostolic, and that there would be a probability at least of inducing the bishops to make compromises which would hasten the cause of Catholic emancipation. This was no doubt a delusion on the part of the gentlemen; and it would appear to us now that in 1792 England was not ripe for a change in Church government.

The first meeting held in the year 1793 was on the 12th of

* *Vide* “History of Catholic Emancipation,” vol. i. p. 171.

February, just three weeks after the regicide in France. The Cisalpine Club resolved on that day to call a meeting of Catholics to address the King. A letter inviting attendance at the meeting was circulated amongst Catholics; it was signed by Lord Petre, Sir Henry Englefield, Mr. Henry Errington, and Mr. John Towneley. A meeting was accordingly held at the Freemasons' Tavern. The chair was taken by Bernard Edward Howard, Esq.* An address, proposed by Lord Petre, and seconded by Sir Henry Englefield, was unanimously carried, and was ordered to be presented to the King by the proposer and seconder, and the chairman. It was very numerously signed, and was presented to His Majesty, who was pleased most graciously to receive the same.† As the address was a very good one and not long, it is worth while to insert it in this notice of the club :

To the King's most excellent Majesty: The humble address of the Catholic Peers, Clergy, and Commons of Great Britain.

Most gracious Sovereign, we, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Catholic Peers, Clergy, and Commons of your kingdom of Great Britain, beg leave to approach your royal presence, at a time when the disastrous events in a neighbouring kingdom have nearly involved all Europe in the calamities of a war, to assure your Majesty of our most loyal and unfeigned attachment to your Majesty's person, crown, and dignity, to the constitution of our country, and of our utter abhorrence of all principles subversive of order and government, and tending to promote anarchy and confusion.

Deeply sensible of the manifold blessings which we enjoy under the clemency of your Majesty's government, attached by new ties of gratitude and affection to our country by the favour which the Legislature has lately conferred on us,‡ we have still to lament that the delicacy of our situation leaves us no other means of manifesting our zeal to your Majesty and our wishes to serve our country, except the sincere assurance that we shall ever be ready, in our respective situations, with our lives and fortunes to co-operate with our fellow-subjects in the defence and support of your Majesty's person, and the constitution of these realms, in any manner which your Majesty's Government shall deem expedient.

The second meeting of the year 1793 was held on the 12th of March. After dinner, at which nineteen members and one

* Bernard Edward Howard was afterwards Duke of Norfolk, the great-grandfather of the present Duke.

† The day in the month of March on which the address was presented is left blank in the Minute Book of the Club.

‡ This alludes to the Relief Act of 1791.

visitor sat down, three gentlemen were elected by ballot. A most important resolution was then passed. "Upon the motion of Lord Petre," it was

Resolved that the following gentlemen be appointed a committee to enquire into the present state of the Catholic youth of this kingdom, and to point out such plan as may seem to them most eligible for the establishment of a school for the education of the Catholic laity of this kingdom, and that such committee be an open committee: Lord Petre, Mr. Towneley, Dr. Bellasyse, Mr. Cruise, Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Mr. Errington, Dr. Collins, and Mr. William Throckmorton.

The next meeting of the club was held on April 9th, Sir William Jerningham being in the chair. One gentleman was elected, and then the report of the school committee appointed at the last meeting was brought up and received. The report is not set out in the minute book, but the tenor of it may be gathered from the three following resolutions, which were unanimously resolved upon as the basis of the plan:

(1) That a public school solely appropriated to the education of Catholic boys, and totally unconnected with any Protestant school, be established as soon as possible.

(2) That the school be under the direction of a certain number of Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, to be called governors, who shall be originally elected by the subscribers, and that all future governors shall be chosen by the surviving governors.

(3) That the school shall be under the immediate direction and management of two head-masters, to be called the president and vice-president, who shall be always priests, and be appointed by the governors.

The committee was requested to make a further report on the most advantageous mode of establishing a school upon the plan brought forward by them, and agreed to at the meeting. The gentlemen present at this meeting were requested to communicate the plan of the school to their friends, and to solicit subscriptions previously to the next meeting.

The anxiety of the Catholic gentlemen to provide a school for the education of their sons was caused by the state of things on the Continent, brought about by the French Revolution. On the 1st of February 1793 the National Convention declared war against England. The meeting of the Cisalpine Club, at which it was first determined to establish a school, was held just eleven days afterwards, namely, on the 12th of February. If the members of the club did not foresee all the

educational consequences of the coming war, they must have thought that the English colleges, in France at least, were in danger. They therefore wisely determined to take time by the forelock. Their wisdom became very soon apparent, for on the 10th of October, in the same year 1793, the National Convention issued a decree by which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were stripped of their property and imprisoned. One consequence of this atrocious measure was that the two colleges of Douay and St. Omer's were seized, and their inmates were sent to the fortress of Dourlens. This happened on the 12th of October, two days after the issuing of the decree. In these two colleges the majority of our Catholic forefathers of the upper class had been educated for more than two hundred years. As there was every probability of the Revolution extending on the Continent, the great grandfathers of the present generation were obliged to look at home in order to provide education for their sons. Hence the anxiety of the Catholic gentlemen to open a school. As the Cisalpine Club was the only organised body amongst Catholics, it was natural that the members of it should take the lead in so vital a matter as was that of ensuring a suitable education for their children.

The next meeting of the Club was on the 14th of May, Lord Petre being in the chair. Twenty-one members and three visitors were present.

Lord Petre having stated that a Bill was then depending in Parliament for a renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, it was resolved unanimously on his lordship's motion :

That the gentlemen in the profession of the law be requested to examine the India Company's Charter and the laws that prevent the Catholics from serving the Company, and to consider of a proper clause to be inserted in the Bill now pending in Parliament for the renewing the Charter of that Company, to prevent in future the disabilities they now are subject to.

It appears also that at this time the Protestant merchants of the English factory at Lisbon excluded the Catholic merchants in the same factory from their meetings. The Catholic merchants "presented a memorial to His Majesty praying his directions for their future admittance." They then wrote to

Mr. Butler requesting him to ask Lord Petre "to assist them in their endeavours to be restored to their rights." Mr. Butler brought the matter before the Cisalpine Club at this meeting, and Lord Petre was unanimously requested in the name of the club to grant the request of the Catholic merchants.

The secretary at this meeting gave in a report of the state of the club with regard to members and finances. The latter were in a flourishing condition. The club consisted of forty members; two others had been admitted by ballot, but one of them, Mr. Thomas Clifford, had been admitted by mistake, and without his consent, and, therefore, withdrew his name; the other, Mr. Henry Blundell, had seceded on account of the distance of his residence from town. Mr. Henry Clifford, at the request of the club, consented to be treasurer and secretary for another year.

The last meeting for the year 1793 was on the 4th of June. The Hon. Mr. Petre was in the chair, and there were present twenty members and two visitors. The secretary brought the report of the law committee appointed at the last meeting to examine the question between Catholics and the East India Company. The report was in the form of a letter to the Secretary, and was signed by "Charles Butler, Wm. Cruise, Wm. Throckmorton, and Henry Clifford." These gentlemen took counsel of Mr. Russell, counsel to the East India Commissioners, and of the Solicitor-General; they also ascertained the opinions of Pitt, Fox, and Dundas. The result was that it appeared that, although in some of the early charters and in an Act of the 25th of Charles II. certain oaths to be taken would have excluded Catholics, and that the Statutes of Recusancy would also have been a bar to their entering the East India Company's service, yet that all these obstacles had been removed by subsequent charters, and by Acts of Parliament, especially by the late Act for the relief of Catholics passed in the year 1791. There was, therefore, no law to prevent Catholics from entering the service.

The secretary then informed the club that he had been desired by the school committee to write a letter to Dr. Bew, requesting him to accept the office of Head Master, which he had accordingly done, and received an answer. The secretary's letter to Dr. Bew was exceedingly complimentary, but did not

enter into any particulars as to the management of the school. It stated the salaries of the president and vice-president, which were to be £100 and £81 a year respectively, but they were to be materially increased as the number of students increased. It was also mentioned that it was "intended to establish this school within the Midland District." Why the Midland District was chosen for the situation of the college does not appear. As the new school was meant to supply the place of Douay and St. Omer's, to which schools resorted the Catholic youth from all parts of the United Kingdom, it may have been thought advisable to choose a site in the central portion of England. This would have been a sufficient reason for the action of the committee. Another reason may possibly have been that the committee hoped to have fewer difficulties with Bishop Thomas Talbot, who was then the Vicar-Apostolic of the Midland District, and with his coadjutor, Bishop Blessington, than they might have had with any of the other vicars.

In his answer to the secretary's letter, Dr. Bew, after thanking the secretary for the complimentary terms in which his letter was written, and after expressing his conviction of the advantages which might be derived from the proposed establishment, and of the necessity of it in the then situation of our foreign colleges, went on to say that he should be happy to be instrumental in promoting so desirable a project. "As far, therefore," he wrote, "as it is possible for me to judge of it from the information you have given me, I have no objection to accept of the honourable offer made by the committee." Dr. Bew also expressed "a hope that a school founded in such views would meet with general encouragement, and that no remains of the late disagreements would occasion any opposition to it; as on the other hand," he added, "I am happy to find an assurance in your letter that every precaution will be taken to prevent all real grounds for it." Dr. Bew also relied on the importance of securing the goodwill of the bishops; and concluded by asking for further information as to the details of the plan, the site proposed, and the statutes by which the school was to be regulated; and finally offered to go to London on the business if his attendance there should be thought proper. Dr. Bew's letter was dated from "Nerquis, near Mold, Flintshire, May 29, 1793." The mention of "the late

disagreements" referred to the gallant fight which Milner had with the Committee of Ten when the Relief Act of 1791 was passing through the Legislature.

At the same meeting of the club, on June 4, the Secretary, in the name of the school committee, brought up the final report on the school. After a few preliminary remarks, mentioning amongst other things that the repeal of the penal laws then enabled the Catholics to have schools at home, the report set out twenty-six clauses making up the plan which they proposed for the establishment and management of a "Public school solely appropriated to the education of Catholic boys, and totally unconnected with any Protestant school." The clauses are entered at length in the minute book of the club. I will give here an epitome of them. The school was to be under the inspection of fifteen Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, to be called governors, who should be originally elected by the subscribers, and afterwards by the surviving governors; £100 paid down, or an annual sum of £20 qualified for a vote in the election of the governors; the school was to be under the immediate direction of a president and vice-president, who were both to be priests appointed by the governors; the "ushers and assistants were to be appointed by the president and vice-president; the domestic economy of the house was to be under the immediate management of a bursar. The pension was to be £30 a year. Immediately after the clause mentioning the pension, the following N.B. occurs, which in these days would be hardly thought necessary: "Every boy to have a separate bed." A plan of education was to be formed by the president and vice-president, to be submitted to the governors for their approbation. Such plan to be revised every five years at a general meeting of all the governors, and the president and vice-president, and no alterations to be made in such plan of education except at the meetings aforesaid. There was a provision for the usual instruction given in our colleges, and for the examinations, which were to be held quarterly. The head-masters—that is, the president and vice-president, the ushers and boys—were all to live in the same house, and the boys were to have a uniform at the expense of their parents. There were clauses providing for the salaries of the president and vice-president, and for obtaining sufficient subscriptions to

enable the governors to support the establishment for five years—in other words, to provide a guarantee fund. The committee engaged to keep the school open for five years. This was arranged on the supposition that possibly, though not probably, the plan might prove a failure. Provision was made for the investment of subscriptions, and also for the disposal of the property, real and personal, both in case the plan should succeed and in case it should not succeed. Any one who subscribed £500 or upwards was to be a governor without election, and at the expiration of five years, if the college continued to exist, he and his heirs for ever “were to have a right to nominate a boy for every principal sum of £500 so subscribed, who should be admitted into the school, and have his board, lodging, washing, and instruction gratis.” The ushers were to have their lodging, board, and washing gratis; but the president and vice-president were to pay for their board. The ushers were to have £30 a year each; and the bursar £50. The committee thought it not improbable that at the end of five years there would be a hundred boys in the school, and that as the pensions would then amount to £3000, the salaries of the president and vice-president might be raised to twice the amount at first proposed. The committee did not at that time know that in the two following years three other colleges would be established to supply the places of Douay, St. Omer’s, and the Jesuit College of Liège—namely, Old Hall, Ushaw, and Stonyhurst. Many boys were sent to Ushaw and Stonyhurst, and Old Hall, in its early days, received a very large proportion of the sons of the old Catholic families; so that the school established by the committee did not boast of a hundred students until more than forty years after its foundation. The club approved of the plan proposed by the committee, and on the motion of Dr. Collins, seconded by Mr. William Throckmorton, the report was unanimously received.

As soon as the above motion had passed, a resolution which was of considerable importance in the history, both of the club and of the school which was afterwards founded, was unanimously passed on the motion of Mr. Butler. It was as follows:—

The final report of the school committee having been read and approved, and a letter to Dr. Bew, requesting him to accept the office of

president of the school, with Dr. Bew's answer, accepting the same, being also read, this club requests the said committee to confer with Dr. Bew further on the subject until governors shall be chosen who are finally to have the management of the concern. This club, conceiving itself no further concerned in this measure than merely in introducing it to the attention of the Catholics at large, returns thanks to the gentlemen of the said committee for the pains they have taken, and declares the further prosecution of the measure now to rest solely with the subscribers.

This resolution was an important one, because it completely severed the prosecution of the plan for the establishment of a school from the Cisalpine Club; it also secured entire independence for the governing power in the school when formed. Mr. Butler, who, as is well known, was a thorough Cisalpine, was a man singularly free from prejudice, and one who would never allow his strongest opinions to interfere with the success of any matter in which he was interested. The school to be established was meant to supply the places of the schools on the Continent; it was therefore intended to be the resort of boys whose parents resided, not in one limited portion of England, but in any part of the kingdom, and whatever their politics might be, or their opinions on open questions of religion. If the new school had belonged to, or had been under the management of the Cisalpine Club, it would have given a character to the school which would have deterred many parents from sending their boys to it. I can have no doubt that Mr. Butler clearly saw the difficulty, and that he at once determined to do what he could to ensure that the school should have no party character. The subsequent history of the school seems to show that Mr. Butler acted on this occasion not only with disinterestedness, but very wisely.

Though the establishment and career of the school no longer belong to the history of the Cisalpine Club, some account of it may be pertinent and interesting. While the lay gentlemen were looking out for a house which would be suitable for a college, the idea of a seminary for the education of Church students was before the mind of the bishop and clergy of the Midland District. Before the gentlemen were able to find a resting-place Bishop Talbot determined to make a commencement of his seminary at the mission house of a small hamlet about six miles from Birmingham, in the parish of Handsworth, called Oscott. To be at the head of this seminary the

Bishop secured the services of Dr. Bew, whom the lay gentlemen, as we have seen, had chosen to be the president of their college. What passed between Dr. Talbot and Dr. Bew which induced the latter to go to Oscott to commence a seminary has never been made public. It is probable that no record of it remains. At the commencement of the year 1794 Dr. Bew went to Oscott. He received no student until the following month of May, when one arrived, and in July he was joined by two others. It happens that not one of these three persevered in his vocation. In the meantime the gentlemen had still not found a house. Here again a want of documents prevents our knowledge of details. Some time in the spring or summer of 1794 it was arranged between the gentlemen and the Bishop that the college for lay students should be opened at Oscott in conjunction with the seminary, and in August the first lay-boy arrived. He was soon followed by others. On October 1 the plan which had been arranged for the government of the combined schools was published. This plan was almost identical with the scheme suggested to the Cisalpine Club by their school committee. The president was to be appointed by the Bishop of the Midland District, subject to the approbation of the governors; the Bishop was to have the sole direction of all religious concerns; the governors, in conjunction with the president and vice-president, were to have the direction of all the lay scholars, and the governors were to have the direction of all money matters. Under this government the college was opened towards the end of the summer of 1794, and under this government it remained for fourteen years, when it was made over as a school for both church and lay-boys to Bishop Milner. Dr. Bew, as we have seen, received his first Church student in May, and the next two students in July. The "seminary," therefore, as to discipline, and all other arrangements, could have practically been nothing more than a priest on a mission ready to receive pupils for the Church, and after six months receiving three, before the first lay-boy arrived. The origin therefore of Oscott College, both for Church and lay-students, under an organised system of government, dates from August 1794, when the first lay-student arrived. It cannot be said that there was in reality any priority between the "seminary" and the college for lay-boys; but the government of the

college was, at the beginning, rather more lay than ecclesiastical. This was Oscott College, for nearly a hundred years the pride of the sons of St. Mary. It had its days of partial decline, and then of recovery, as most, if not all, of our colleges have had; but looking back to its history, its days were the days of pleasantness, and its paths were the paths of peace. It ran a glorious course, until in the summer of 1889, when the college had existed for ninety-five years, it ceased to be a school for lay-boys.

Though, as we have seen, the Cisalpine Club had very quickly ceased to have anything to do with the arrangements for founding the school, yet it deserves the credit of having originated and set in motion the plan which ended in the commencement of St. Mary's College, Oscott.

At the same meeting of the Cisalpine Club, namely on the 4th of June 1793, Lord Petre, after having stated that doubts were entertained whether the annual Act passed "to indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments" extended to Catholics, moved a resolution; which was seconded by Mr. Swinburne, and carried unanimously: "That the gentlemen of the profession of the law, members of this club, be requested to make the necessary inquiries into the extent and effect of the above mentioned annual Act, and to report the result of such inquiries at the next meeting."

The first meeting of the club for the year 1794 took place on the 11th of February. John Towneley, Esq., was in the chair, and there were seventeen members present. After one gentleman had been duly elected, the secretary gave the meeting an account of some proceedings in the county of Stafford which cannot fail to be interesting to these who care to know the history of Catholics in England during the last hundred years. One of the penal laws obliged the constables to make presentments twice in every year at the assizes of all such persons within their respective townships as were Papists or reputed Papists; but the Relief Act of 1791 rendered such presentment illegal in the case of those Catholics who had taken the oath prescribed by the Act. Notwithstanding this the constables continued to make presentments not only of those Catholics who had not taken the oath, but of those who

had done so. Upon this some of the Catholics who had taken the oath drew up a very spirited petition to the "Justices of the Peace for the County of Stafford assembled in Quarter Sessions, praying on behalf of themselves and their fellow Catholics that the presentments might be stopped. The petition shows how such presentments were "unnecessary, dangerous, libellous, and illegal," and it concludes in the following words:—"Your petitioners, convinced that they cannot better prove themselves good citizens and deserving of those rights and liberties to which they have been lately restored, than by being jealous of whatever may tend to cramp their enjoyment, offer no excuse, but wait with confidence for the decision of your honourable Bench." The petition was drawn up by the secretary of the Cisalpine Club, Henry Clifford, who showed it to the chairman of the quarter sessions. His Worship desired that instead of a petition a motion on the subject should be made in court; this was accordingly done at the next sessions by the secretary. After some consideration the chairman declared it to be the unanimous opinion of the Bench that those presentments were unnecessary, even as to those Catholics who had not taken the oath; and that they were perfectly illegal as to such as had taken it. The constables were therefore directed not to make any such presentments in future.

The secretary of the Cisalpine Club felt, and very rightly felt, somewhat jubilant at the success of the Staffordshire Catholics acting under his advice and advocacy. His joy on this occasion may have made him better able to bear any discomfort he may have felt at the "bucket of cold water" which was thrown over him and his fellow clubmen by Mr. Weld, of Lulworth. For at this same meeting, on February 11th, 1794, the secretary further stated that he had in compliance with the resolution of the last meeting circulated a paper on the subject of the admissibility of Catholics to offices in India, to which he had received the following answer from Mr. Weld:

SIR,—I did not receive yours of the 4th till yesterday; otherwise I should have given a more early answer. I neither know nor wish to know who are the members that compose this Cisalpine Club; but, be they who they may, I shall never acknowledge any authority in any club under such a denomination, or allow them to act for me or in my name, under any pretence whatsoever. I must therefore intreat you not to give

yourself the trouble of sending me any more of their letters, for I mean to have no correspondence with that club.

I am, sir, your obed. humble servant,

T. WELD.

The secretary then said that "he had not thought himself authorised to write an answer during the recess in the name of the club; but could not resist the temptation of writing to him (Mr. Weld) as an individual member in nearly the same style as his own letter." The secretary's letter was as follows:

SIR,—I have received your very polite letter of the 20th inst. in answer to mine of the 4th, which required none, as it merely contained information relating to the admissibility of Catholics into the East India Company. I should not have troubled you again, as you wish to drop all further correspondence (a wish, I assure you, in perfect correspondence with my own), was the club to meet any more this year. But its next meeting will not be till February, when I shall not omit to lay your letter before it, and enter it in the minutes of the day. In the meantime, sir, I beg leave as an individual member to set you right in one particular. The Cisalpine Club since its institution has never acted, or taken upon itself to act, for or in the name of any set of men or individuals whatsoever who were not members of it.

The reader will, I think, acknowledge that Mr. Henry Clifford, as an individual, was quite equal to the task of answering a letter written by Mr. Thomas Weld. Mr. Weld's letter was of course written under the very strong conviction that the principles on which the club was founded were, as indeed they were in truth, bad. Still the club had been engaged in several matters in which it had done good service to the Catholic body, and it had not done anything to force its principles upon, or even bring them prominently before, any one who was not a member. Mr. Weld might, therefore, have chosen some other opportunity of showing his extreme dislike of the club, than that which was afforded him by the reception of some useful information. It must be remembered, too, that in those days there was no Catholic periodical, and, therefore, a great deal of interesting news could only be spread amongst our ancestors by word of mouth, or by letter.

Some further Catholic business was transacted at this meeting of the club. It was resolved, on the motion of Lord Petre:—

That as the Militia Pay Bill is to be read in a few days in the House of Commons, and it is understood that matters may arise thereon which may affect the Catholics, it be an instruction to the members present to apply

to their friends in Parliament to interest themselves in favour of the Catholics on that occasion.

The secretary brought up the Report of the Law Committee on the operation of the Test and Corporation Acts, the result of which was, that Catholics were, as to those Acts, in precisely the same situation as the Protestant Dissenters, who scrupled to "qualify" for offices civil and military. The meeting then took up another grievance under which Catholics suffered. It appears that there were in those days, when the Penal Laws were languishing unto death, many Catholics who had been practising as attorneys in the name of some Protestant friend who was also an attorney. When the Act of 1791 allowed Catholics to practise as attorneys, those mentioned above could not be admitted as attorneys on account of their having neglected to be previously duly articulated. And it was probable that on account of the new tax on attorneys such persons would be prevented from practising in future. The matter was referred to the law committee.

England was now at war with France, and, as England was in want of Irish soldiers, the time was thought favourable to apply to Parliament for further relief beyond that given by the Act of 1791. The secretary called the attention of the club to the matter. The minute says that after some conversation it was agreed that this should be further considered, and it was understood that the Peers would undertake the management of the business. The Irish had obtained the elective franchise and other relief in the year 1793, and it was thought by the more ardent of English Catholics, amongst whom was Henry Clifford, the secretary of the club, that the example of what had been done for the Irish, and the effect of further emancipation in stirring up the patriotism of Catholics in general, might induce the Legislature to give us another instalment of our rights. But no instalment came. Another penal law which pressed severely upon Catholics was that by which Catholic landed proprietors had to pay double land-tax. Mr. Butler took up this matter. As the double land-tax was imposed on Catholics by the annual land-tax Act, no clause on the subject was inserted in the Relief Act of 1791. An expedient, probably suggested to the Government by Mr. Butler, was adopted to effect an act of justice. The clause imposing

the double tax was henceforward omitted from the annual land-tax Act. But this omission did not prove effectual. Catholics paid the double tax until an Act of Parliament, thirty-seven years afterwards, enabled those who could prove they were paying the double tax to get rid of the burden.* For the efforts which Mr. Butler made to obtain justice, he very properly received, on the motion of Sir John Throckmorton, the thanks of the Cisalpine Club.

Up to this time in the history of the club, the principal, and, indeed, almost the entire, business, has been what might have been undertaken by any association for the purpose of attending to the interests of British Catholics. At the next meeting, which was on the 11th of March, at which twenty-three members were present, and Sir John Throckmorton was in the chair, we come to a little purely Cisalpine business, which, as it was confined to resolutions, could not have done much harm beyond perpetuating for a few years longer, perhaps, the Cisalpine spirit amongst some English Catholics of the upper class. The resolutions were three in number, and were brought forward by Sir Henry Charles Englefield. In proposing them, Sir Henry observed that "many well-intentioned Catholics, ignorant of their real principles" (that is, of the principles of the club), had taken offence and objection to them on account of their name, which they misconceived to imply principles which were dangerous. And that it would be proper, by stating the real object of their institution, to endeavour to remove such objections, although they had never been formally communicated to them as a club." Some alterations were made in the resolutions when they came to be discussed. I will therefore insert them as they passed the club at the next meeting.

The remaining business at this meeting, of March 11th, was to receive the report of the "Gentlemen of the Law": "That they had considered the case of the Catholic attorneys, who had omitted to be duly articulated, and that they had prepared a Bill for their relief, which the Solicitor-General would in a few days present to the Legislature." The Gentlemen of the Law then received the thanks of the club for their attention to this business.

* See "History of Catholic Emancipation," vol. i. p. 185.

On April 8th, 1794, the members, to the number of twenty-five, assembled as usual at the Freemasons' Tavern, the Hon. George Petre being in the chair. After the removal of the cloth, and the election of two gentlemen, the following resolutions were discussed and passed :

First. That the institution of the Cisalpine Club arose from the conviction, as well of those gentlemen who were the original members as of those who have since been admitted into it, that it would be highly beneficial to the interests of the English Catholics that some of them should from time to time meet in order to watch and improve any opportunities that might offer to advance their further emancipation, but without the most distant pretence of assuming to themselves any degree of power or authority whatever, much less with any intention of interference in spiritual concerns.*

Second. That the fundamental principle of this club has ever been and is the firm and entire adherence to the Protestation which they in the year 1789 did in common with the rest of the English Catholics sign and present to the Legislature as a pledge and test of their loyalty to the King and to the established constitution of their country : an instrument which they consider as the bond of reconciliation between them and their Protestant fellow-subjects; the basis under Providence of that relief which they lately received; the foundation of their future hopes, and to which they are happy thus again solemnly to declare their full and determined adherence.

Third. That this club did assume the name of Cisalpine as a mark of their opposition to those encroachments of the Court of Rome on the civil authority against which their Catholic ancestors had been obliged repeatedly to guard, and their abhorrence of the doctrines of the deposing and dispensing powers of the Pope, *as stated and disclaimed in the Protestation*, doctrines which have for above a *century* been distinguished by the names of Ultramontane and Transalpine.

All these resolutions were proposed by Sir Henry Englefield; the first was seconded by Lord Petre; the second by Dr. Bellasyse, and the third by Sir John Throckmorton. The first and second were passed unanimously. An amendment was proposed to the third resolution, "that the words underlined" (as above, and which were not in the resolution as proposed) "should be inserted." A ballot took place, when the numbers appeared—for the amendment 23; against it, 2; and the insertion accordingly took place.

The first of the above resolutions, inasmuch as it expresses

* Of the matters contained in this first resolution, there is no mention in the minutes of the formation of the Club.

the opinion of the gentlemen present, was not only innocent, but very judicious and praiseworthy. It simply expresses that the Catholic gentlemen were going to do their duty, and were not going to interfere with the rightful authority of others. The second resolution was pure Cisalpinism. We have seen Dr. Milner's opinion of the Protestation, which contains several proofs of Cisalpinism; but it is sufficient in these days to mention only one proof. "We acknowledge," it says, "no infallibility in the Pope." How far the members of the Legislature were induced by the Protestation to vote for the Bill of 1791 it would be difficult to say, but the Protestation can hardly be called the basis of relief. With regard to the third resolution, it may, I think, be safely said, not one member of the club would have found it easy to mention any "encroachment of the Court of Rome" which justified English Catholic gentlemen in forming a Cisalpine Club. The Popes, for many years, had done all they could to preserve the Church in England, and it was ungrateful of the Catholic gentlemen to try to make capital before their Protestant fellow-subjects out of what may have happened before the Reformation. If the encroachments of the Court of Rome meant the government of the Church in England without a hierarchy, considering that the number of Catholics in England could not have amounted to one hundred thousand, the Pope might very well have been left to himself to judge whether he would preside over us through diocesan bishops or through vicars-apostolic.*

At the same meeting, April 8th, 1794, Mr. Cruise reported: "That the Catholic Attorney Bill was in its progress through the House of Commons." It was also at this meeting that a matter of controversy was taken up by the club, which, though now of little importance, had then been engaging the attention of English Catholics—a controversy which never came to any satisfactory conclusion. The question was whether the copy of the Protestation deposited by Mr. Butler in the British Museum was or was not the original copy which had been signed. The question was taken up by the Cisalpine Club. In consequence of an assertion of Mr. Milner, repeated by Mr.

* From some statistics given by Father John Morris in an interesting article in the *Month* for March 1892, it would appear that the number of Catholics in England above mentioned is understated.

Charles Plowden in a note to a book entitled, "*Remarks on a book entitled, Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani,*" that the Protestation lodged in the Museum was not the original signed by the Catholics in 1789, but a mutilated or corrupted copy, it was unanimously resolved, on the motion of Sir H. Englefield, seconded by Lord Petre, "that the law members of the society be desired to investigate the authenticity of the instrument, and to report accordingly at the next meeting." It is not necessary to pursue this controversy further than to say that the law committee of the club made two reports, in which they maintained the authenticity of the Protestation in the Museum as the identical original copy.* Dr. Milner brought forward some very strong arguments to prove that the Museum copy was not the original, and so late as the year 1820, in an appendix to his "*Supplementary Memoirs,*" he strongly supported that opinion. So far as the men who signed the original committed themselves to certain theological opinions it matters little whether the copy in the Museum is the original or not. But if ever it should be, for any reason, important to produce the Protestation, it will, in consequence of the conflicting evidence, be impossible to verify the copy in Great Russell Street as the one originally signed.

The next meeting of the club, on the 13th of May, 1794, was the first at which the names of all the members present were entered in the minutes; and by a resolution of the club the same was done at all future meetings. As the reader may be interested in knowing who were the men attending the meetings at this time, I give the names of those who were at this dinner as follows: Lords Fingall and Petre, Sir John Throckmorton, Sir Henry Englefield, and Messrs. Errington, Stapleton, Swinburne, Cruise, Butler, W. Throckmorton, Thos. Heneage, Hornyold, Dormer, Plowden, Witham, Heneage, Petre, Towneley, Hawkins, Cox, Charles Hornyold, Collins, Edward Howard, Nihell, Clifford, and Bellasyse. Mr. Bernard Edward Howard (afterwards Duke of Norfolk) was in the chair, and Mr. Edward Blount was the deputy chairman.

It appears that a meeting of "some gentlemen calling them-

* These reports were printed for the use of the members, and the secretary was ordered to send a copy to each of the vicars-apostolic, and to the Rev. Charles Plowden and the Rev. John Milner.

selves a general meeting of the Catholics, had expressly excluded the clergy from their meetings." Dr. Collins therefore proposed, and Mr Cruise seconded, the following resolution: "That this club cannot consider any meeting as a Catholic meeting from which the clergy are excluded either directly or indirectly." After some conversation, Dr. Collins's motion was withdrawn, and in place of it Lord Petre proposed, and Mr. Stapleton seconded, a motion that the following declaration should be inserted in the books: "That no doubt may remain of the principles upon which the clergy are admitted to this club, it is now declared by this specific resolution that the clergy ever were, and are, considered to be balloted for and admitted on the same terms as all other gentlemen." Upon this motion the previous question was moved by Mr. Clifford, and seconded by Mr. Blount. On a show of hands the previous question was negatived, and Lord Petre's motion was carried, Messrs. Clifford and Blount alone dissenting. I suppose the reason why Dr. Collins's motion was not approved of was, that the Cisalpine Club being merely a club and not a representative body, it had no call to interfere with any other organisation of Catholics.

At the last few meetings the members of the club had been sitting till eleven o'clock P.M., and at the meeting on the 8th of June a resolution was passed to substitute that hour instead of nine o'clock as the time for paying the bill, in the third rule. On the same day a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Langdale, Cox, Cruise and Wm. Throckmorton, was formed on the motion of Lord Petre "to consider of the best means of providing claret for the club." At the first meeting, in the year 1795, on the 10th of February, the Rev. Charles Bellasyse, D.D., being in the chair, "the secretary read a letter from the Rev. Joseph Wilks, in which, on the requisition of his provincial superior, he applied to have his name withdrawn from the list of members." The club then passed a resolution expressing "the highest respect for the character of Mr. Wilks, and the most sincere gratitude for the services rendered by him to the body of English Catholics," and their regret "that any circumstances should engage him to withdraw from their Society." The services which Mr. Wilks had rendered to the Catholic body were chiefly that he had belonged to the "Committee of Ten,"

had assisted in drawing up the "Schismatical Protest," and had raised up the "Staffordshire Clergy" in his defence against the exercise of lawful episcopal authority. It was, no doubt, because his membership of the Cisalpine Club made it appear that he still held erroneous opinions, that his superiors required him to send in his resignation.

The secretary reported that the claret committee had laid in a hogshead of wine, and had agreed to give the master of the tavern the bottle and fifteen pence for every cork drawn. The secretary also brought in the yearly accounts of the club, showing a balance in favour of the club of £17 1s. 4d., not including subscriptions then due. The smallness of the balance was partly owing to the subscription of absent members having been reduced from three guineas to one guinea.

Mr. Henry Clifford, having been secretary for three years, requested that he might not be elected again. His request was granted, and after a very cordial vote of thanks to him for his services, Mr. William Cruise was appointed treasurer and secretary for the ensuing year. Mr. Cruise was a distinguished conveyancer, and well known to former students in the law as the author of a "Digest of the Laws relating to Real Property."

The next meeting was on the 10th of March. Mr. Thomas Heneage was in the chair, and Mr. Francis Cholmeley in the vice-chair. There were nineteen members present altogether. A resolution was proposed by Sir Henry Englefield, and seconded by Lord Petre, as follows:

That this club, in consequence of its having been represented to them last year, that several very respectable Catholics of this kingdom had objected to the name of *Cisalpine*, did give such an explanation of their intention in assuming that name as they hoped would have removed every cause of objection. That it has, notwithstanding, been represented to them from respectable authority that objections still continue to the name of *Cisalpine*. That this club, having no object in view but the general advantage of the body, and desirous of proving to every person that no punctilio or obstinacy in retaining a name can weigh with them in opposition to such advantage, do resolve that they will lay aside the name of *Cisalpine*: declaring at the same time their entire approbation of the principles professed by them in three resolutions of last year before referred to, and above all their steady and unalterable adherence to the Protestation, and their firm determination to abide by the principles contained in the same.

It was then moved by the Hon. Charles Dormer, and seconded by Sir Henry Englefield, that in case the club shall relinquish the name of Cisalpine, they may assume the name of "The Friends of the Protestation." We may as well pursue this matter to the end. At the meeting on the 14th of April the two above resolutions were withdrawn, and instead of them, it was moved by Sir H. Englefield, and seconded by Lord Petre :

That the import of the name *Cisalpine* having been mistaken, this club, desirous of proving to the body their wish to remove every ground of misapprehension, do resolve to lay aside the name of *Cisalpine*, and to assume that of "*The Friends of the Protestation*," and do order that the Protestation be copied *verbatim* into the books of the club, and that all persons who in future become members of the club shall sign the Protestation.

This substituted motion came on to be balloted for at the next meeting on the 12th of May. Sir H. Englefield and Lord Petre had again changed their minds. The former proposed, and the latter seconded, an amendment: "That all the words of the motion from the beginning to the words, 'AND DO ORDER,' inclusively be omitted." The amendment was carried *nem. con.*, and the motion as amended was carried." It was therefore resolved by the club: "That the Protestation be copied *verbatim* into the books of the club, and that all persons who in future become members of the club shall sign the same." This was a very decided confirmation of the principles upon which the club was founded in the year 1792. The history of the club will be concluded in a subsequent number of this REVIEW.

ART. VIII.—ROBERT SURTEES AS A POET.

THAT part of Britain ruled over for centuries by the Prince Bishops of Durham has produced many names remembered alike in history and song. The chronicle of England, in so far as it relates to the tract of country which lies north of York and south of Berwick, is but the family history of some five or six great houses. The beginning of the end came to this, as to so much else that was beautiful, with the upheaval of the Reformation; and the Rising in the North, that mad attempt to overthrow the power of Elizabeth, did more to make the North of England less feudal than any previous event. When "the Percies' crescent set in blood" many things in the North changed; its history ceased to be personal, but by slow degrees merged into that of the rest of the country. Yet tradition is hard to root out, and down to the end of the eighteenth century there remained a vague memory of past glories, a memory reaching back in a dim and imperfect manner to the days when the Prince Bishop of Durham was a ruling power, more to be dreaded in the Palatinate and the counties around it than was the King.

It was among those to whom traditions of the past had become an unconscious part of everyday life that Robert Surtees was born, on the first day of April 1779. The family had long been settled at Mainsforth, in the Bishopric of Durham; but it is the city of St. Cuthbert that claims the honour of being his birthplace. Most of his boyhood was passed at the old home; among the kindly, simple Northern people he first planned that great history which made him famous in after-days. He was practically an only child; his parents had been married seventeen years at the time of his birth, and had lost two children, both of whom died when very young.

The boy grew up with an intense love of everything connected with the history of the past—coins, ballads, old wives' fables, all interested the imaginative child, and he lived to become an antiquary, perhaps the greatest in that long line of Northern-born men who have done so much to clear the past

history of their country from the mists in which time and ignorance have wrapped it.

Strangely enough, while it is fully acknowledged what manner of man it was who gave us "The History of Durham," yet in another and higher sphere he had gifts which have never been appreciated save by the few who are students of ballad literature ; out of that narrow circle who knows aught of "Bartram's Dirge," which is probably the finest modern ballad ever written ? Who has ever read "Sir John le Spring," that strange blending of ignorance and knowledge ; ignorance of fact, but knowledge of Catholic feeling ? The spirit of Catholicism which is breathed by all the old ballads, even those which are rudest and least attractive to us of a softer era, has never been so nearly caught as by Surtees. No other modern writer has ever been able to see the symbolism hidden in the daily life of our forefathers, and to reproduce it so successfully as he did. When one is reading his ballads the past and the present seem to join hands and stand together ; they are not widely divided in reality, though to our eyes they often appear so.

At the time Surtees wrote, the ballad form of verse was considered rude and inharmonious : it is true that Scott had introduced it into his romances, but here it was only tolerated by his readers, not admired. Old ballads were considered worthy of attention, partly on account of the mere fact that they were old, and partly because it had dawned on the minds of the more educated that there was much to be learnt from them about the manners and customs of our forefathers ; but that any one should write modern ballads merely from a love for that form of verse never entered into the mind of the average reader. Yet the man who could compose ballads so instinct with the spirit of the Middle Ages that they deceived both Scott and Hogg, must surely take rank as a poet of no mean order.

"Bartram's Dirge" is a wonderful composition if we are to regard it as modern ; probably the exact truth about it will never be known. Surtees professed to have taken it down from the lips of Ann Douglas, an old woman who worked in his garden ; he sent a copy of it to Sir Walter Scott, who was thoroughly imposed upon ; and straightway inserted it into

"The Border Minstrelsy" among the ancient poems. Afterward, Surtees acknowledged that he himself was its author. At his death there were found among his papers two or three versions of it, giving various readings. Most likely what he told Scott in the first instance was partly true, and that he really had heard a part of the ballad from Ann Douglas, and then that he composed or altered the rest of it. But old or new, it is marvelously good, and if it be the latter, one cannot help seeing how unconsciously Surtees had become imbued with the feeling and spirit of Catholicity. The opening verse strikes the keynote at once :

They shot him dead at the Nine Stone-rig,
Beside the headless cross ;
And they left him lying in his blood
Upon the moor and moss.
They made a bier of the birken bough,
Of the sauf and the espin grey ;
And they bore him to the Lady Chapel,
And watched him there all day.

* * * *

They row'd him in a lily sheet,
And bore him to his earth,
And the grey friars sang the dead man's mass
As they passed the chapel garth.

In its way, "Claxton's Lament" is almost as fine as "Bartram's Dirge," but the plot and general outline of the story is taken from "The Rising in the North," to be found in Bishop Percy's collection of old ballads.

Surtees sets forth how one Francis Claxton was sorely troubled when a message came from Percy and Neville bidding him bring all the force he could muster, and join them at Wetherby in that rising which was at least as much religious as political in its motive—that utterly hopeless and futile attempt to win toleration for Catholics, and enable them to exercise liberty of conscience. Claxton seems to be meant as a type of man who had no strong convictions, though he was no doubt a nominal Catholic. It did not seem to him a matter of much moment whether Mary of Scotland or Elizabeth exercised their judgment as to what form of religious belief was to be tolerated. All he cared for was to be upon

the winning side, and not being blessed with much political sagacity, he hesitated what to do.

To Wetherby the Earls are gone;
 A message came, so fair and free—
 "Now swear thee on the Holy Rood,
 I charge thee, Claxton, ride with me."
 The Earl he is my gracious lord,
 The Queen she is my liegeous Queen;
 To stand upon the worser side
 No Claxton yet was ever seen.

While he is considering whether, on the whole, it will be safer to offend Percy and Neville by refusing to go with them, or to commit treason against Elizabeth, another message comes from the Earls, urging him to make up his mind and to go with them, at the same time warning him that, if he does not do so, "yet shall thy lands forfeited be."

Evidently he is terribly afraid of his imperious neighbours, and seems to have only a vague and shadowy kind of knowledge as to the power of the Protestant Queen; so at length he decides to join the muster at Wetherby, and he thus embarked in that fatal rising which would have placed Mary Stuart on the English throne had it proved successful. Holding, as they did, that Anne Bullen's daughter had no legal or moral right to succeed her sister, Mary of Scotland was the natural heir, and placing her upon the throne seemed the only way to secure religious and civil rights for Catholics. When all was lost, Surtees tells us how—

The Percies' crescent is set in blood,
 And the Northern Bull his flight has ta'en,
 And the sheaf of arrows is keen and bright,
 And Barnard's walls are hard to gain.

And we think with horror on the terrible vengeance Elizabeth took. Surtees had a great love for the science of heraldry, and here he shows his knowledge of it. The crescent was the well-known badge of the Percies, the dun bull's head the bearing of the House of Neville, the sheaf of arrows the cognizance of Sir George Bowes, who suppressed the rising, and put Claxton in the unfortunate position of being the first of his family to espouse "the worser side."

It is very strange that Surtees does not mention the

banner borne by the Nortons on this occasion, which was not their usual coat-of-arms or crest, but meant to set forth the religious nature of the undertaking. The old ballad before mentioned as being in the Percy collection tells us :

The Percy then his ancient raised,
The half-moon shining all so fair ;
But the Nortons ancient was the cross,
And the five wounds our Lord did bear.*

Perhaps the most powerful of all Surtees's poems is "Sir John Le Spring," though he makes one or two serious blunders in it, such as speaking of a priest who "tells his beads for gold," yet some parts of it are so good that we look over all its faults for their sake :

Pray for the soul of Sir John Le Spring !
When the black monks sing, and the chantry bells ring.
Pray for the sprite of the murdered knight ;
Pray for the rest of Sir John Le Spring.

"Sprite" alone shows the lines to be modern ; had "soul" been repeated no one could have told they were not old. We hear how and where the murder was done, and are told that

In the southern aisle his coat of mail
Hangs o'er his marble shrine ;
And his tilting spear is rusting there,
His helm and his gaberdine.

Yet, although a lamp burns for ever before the tomb and the priest says Masses for the departed soul, ever on the night of the murder, "the eve of St. Barnaby bright," the tapers burnt faintly, and dew breaks out upon the marble figure of the knight, and sounds as of clanking armour are heard :

For high o'erhead with rustling tread
Unearthly footsteps pass,
For the spirits of air are gathering there,
And mock the holy mass.

Sir Walter Scott uses the same incident in "The Lay of

* On the restoration of St. Chad's Church, Harpswell, Lincolnshire, in the year 1890, there was found built up in the chancel wall an oak panel, 3 feet by 1 foot, and thereon carved in high relief a shield: *Between a chevron, in chief a pierced heart between two pierced hands; in base two pierced feet.* The top of the panel is arched, and has floral spandrels of fifteenth-century work.

the Last Minstrel." He makes evil spirits gather around the open tomb of Michael Scott, though unseen by the earthly eyes of the priest and the soldier, but they hear a noise as of wings above them, when they leave the abbey by the southern aisle.

In quite another style are the lines on the death of Surtees' sister-in-law, though still in ballad form :

But plait a garland of the bonny birk,
And lay it upon my breast ;
And strew my turf with spring-tide flowers,
And wish my soul good rest."

Considering the date at which this was composed (1815), one can only marvel at the last line—how any non-Catholic could have written it is surprising.

One of the poems contains an account of the havoc made by Henry the Eighth's three visitors whom he sent to plunder the treasure of Durham Cathedral at the time of the Dissolution of the Religious Houses.

Before them lay a glittering store,
The Abbey's plundered wealth ;
The garment of cost and the bowl emboss'd,
And the wassil cup of health ;
And riches still from St. Cuthbert's shrine,
The chalace, the alm'ry and pix,
The image where gold and where ivory twine,
And the shatter'd crucifix.

Lord Derwentwater's "Good Night" is perhaps the most generally known of anything that Surtees ever wrote in verse, and though inferior to many of his other ballads, it contains the often-quoted lines—

If thou and I have lost our lives,
Our king has lost his crown.

Surtees felt to the full the charm which the Stuarts seem almost always to have exercised over people of the poetic temperament ; a charm as strong in his day as it was when Lord Derwentwater laid his head on the block with a prayer for King James upon his lips.

Near the end of the poem is commemorated the fact that

Lord Derwentwater begged that his body might be sent to the North for burial :

Albeit that here in London town
It is my fate to die,
O carry me to Northumberland
In my fathers' grave to lie.
There chant my solemn requiem,
In Hexham's holy towers,
And let six maids of fair Tynedale,
Scatter my grave with flowers.

The request was not complied with at the time, and he was buried in St. Giles' Churchyard, Holborn, but the body was afterwards removed, and he now rests with his ancestors in the chapel at Dilston, in Northumberland.

No complete edition of the poems of Robert Surtees has ever been published. The best collection is to be found in "The Life of Robert Surtees," published by the Surtees Society in 1852. Enough are there given to show that among modern ballad writers he has no superior. The man's whole soul was filled with the feelings and ideas out of which poems like "The Gay Goss Hawk" and "Chevy Chase" have grown.

FLORENCE PEACOCK.

ART. IX.—EVENING CONTINUATION AND RECREATIVE SCHOOLS.

WHEN we have placed a certain end before us, and spent time and money for many years in trying to reach it, we are disappointed to find, when at last the end seems attained, a wider prospect opening before us, and to realise that, if we will reap the full fruit of our past exertions, we must still lay our shoulders to the wheel, and press on by new and untried paths.

Such seems to be the case with the education of our Catholic poor. Catholics, already burdened with the heavy demands upon them in keeping our schools effective, in training the necessary teachers, in repairing school buildings, and in supplying the various appliances required by a Code which seems ever to be more exacting in its demands, may be inclined to say the end we proposed is gained. After forty years of self-sacrifice there is a place in a Catholic school for every Catholic child; now we may rest contented, willing indeed to do what we have undertaken, but we refuse to take any new burdens upon us. Yet if the greater part of what has been done in the past, and is doing in the present, is not to be lost, we must take up a new work in the future.

The nation spends £8,000,000 a year on elementary education, and the number of children who benefit by this outlay is, roughly speaking, 4,800,000. The amount of the grant to Catholic schools in England and Wales last year was £171,938, and the number of scholars in average attendance 195,663.

The report of the Committee of Council on Education (1890) contains the following passage :

We are sorry to find on examining the school returns that the education of so many children of ten years old and upwards is discontinued as soon as by passing the prescribed standard they are exempt from the obligation to attend school, and become free to go to work. But of 481,106 children presented in Standard IV. in 1888 as many as 1,677,742 disappeared from the examination lists of our schools in 1889, while the 309,383 scholars in Standard V. of 1888 fell in the year to 138,864, and the 127,863 scholars in Standard VI. to 38,362.

In other words and figures, more than one-third of the children leave school after they have passed Standard IV., and one-twelfth of the number presented in Standard IV. remain at school after passing the VI. Standard. The same returns as to leaving school, when viewed from the point of age, would present the following results: nearly a third of all children who might be at school actually leave when they are twelve years of age, and close upon three-fourths are gone before they reach their thirteenth year.

To take the case of one town, which in some respects may be regarded as a typical one. The Rev. Dr. Paton, in his evidence given before the Education Commission, says:

In Wolverhampton, where the standard of exemption is Standard V., the average age on which that Standard was passed in 1884-5 was eleven years and seven months, and the average age in 1885-6 was eleven years exactly; that is to say, the average age had positively lowered seven months in one year, and the number of those who remained in the school after the exemption Standard had been passed was not quite three per cent. of the whole number of children in the school; that is to say, taking the number of the children examined in all the Standards, there were, I find, 2455 in the year 1884-5, and 2657 in 1885-6. On the other hand, the number of males who remained after passing Standard V., the exemption Standard, was in Standard VI. in 1884-85 forty-nine, and in 1885-86 forty-eight. In Standard VII. only two in 1884-5, and seven in 1885-86. Of the girls, only sixteen in Standard VI. and seven in Standard VII. Thus there were in the year 1885-6 only twenty-eight children in Standards VI. and VII. out of 2657 children passed for examination in school. Not three per cent. therefore attended after the fifth Standard had been passed, which means after the children were eleven years of age.

Turning to our Catholic children, we have in the elementary schools of the Diocese of Westminster a total number of 28,000 on the registers for the year 1891. It is estimated that ten per cent. leave the schools every year, so that about 2800 leave annually. Thus, from 1887-91 not less than 13,000 children left our schools, whose ages may be put down at between thirteen and eighteen. Of these it may be said, with equal force and truth, not ten per cent. have continued to receive any regular education, or, indeed, any education at all. At any rate, there is no evidence to show that they have continued their education in Catholic schools. A few may drift to the Continuation Evening Schools under the London School

Board. Indeed, in six or seven schools visited it was found that there was one, or at most two, Catholics in attendance.

Each year, therefore, in the Diocese of Westminster, above 2800 of our boys and girls leave our schools. It is more than probable that other dioceses, in proportion to their population, would have much the same story to tell. The child exempt by law naturally thinks his education finished. The parents, too often pressed by poverty, often ignorant of the advantages of continuing his education, and no longer in fear of the "attendance officer," seek to turn his time and strength into money. At the age of thirteen he enters upon his start in life's grim struggle, and begins to win his bread. Just at the age when character is developed for good or evil, when he is quick to receive lasting impressions, he is severed from the salutary influence of the school and his master, and turned into the shop or sent to run errands about the streets of a city full of temptations to evil. It does not take him long to learn the rights of a wage-earner, and as much of his wage as he can retain is spent in a useless, if not worse, way.

The success he is to meet with in his work, whatever it may be, depends upon the life he leads in his leisure hours. He has not been many months at work before he makes the discovery that the little knowledge he acquired at school is fast ebbing away. If he realises the nature of the struggle before him, the difficulty of the task of earning his daily bread, and at the same time of retaining some of the refining influences of life—not that he cares for or thinks of it by this name—he will strive to make up his deficiencies; but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the effort, unassisted, will be a spasmodic one. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof" becomes his motto. The natural inclination to idleness, ignorance of the use that education and the discipline of education will be to him in after-life, are all inducements to drift on and enjoy as far as he can the pleasures easily to be obtained. He rather dreads than otherwise any effort to get more of that "schooling," which he has often shirked in the past, and thinks himself well off to be freed from it in the future. His master is hard, and exacting in his demands upon his time and strength. The evening class is dry and tedious, and palls upon the jaded spirits and mind of a youth suddenly

and for the first time his own master, seeking entertainment both bright and light. He turns to the streets, and here he finds the subtle and malign influences which quickly and fatally gain an ascendancy over him. He finds a power and attraction in promiscuous companionships; he is tempted by degrading pleasures and vices. The golden opportunity is lost, and the streets in a few brief weeks undo the toil and good of years passed in the school.

While at school he was doubtless a member of some confraternity, known to his priest and school teacher; but with his emancipation from school comes that from confraternities. At work early and returning home late, he claims his evening, and his claim he makes good. The Sunday school, if there is one in his parish, might retain some hold upon him, but it is more than probable that if he can he avoids it.

If these are the dangers of the boys who live in large towns or cities, the case, though different in kind, is not less bad in degree with the lad who lives in the village. He is indeed more "in view," and the eyes of pastor and parents more easily keep watch over him; but if he wishes to drift, the "village corner" will enable him to idle away his leisure hours pleasantly, and to learn all kinds of vice, for there all that are bad and vicious in a village most do congregate. His laborious bodily toil, lasting often from sunrise to sunset, unenlivened by the constant changes and interests of a busy crowd, soon deadens his quickness of conception and powers of mental exercise. He becomes a mere animal, anxious only to finish his work and spend his spare time in a way which calls for the least exertion of mind or body. The country lad has, however, one great advantage over the one who lives in a large town. His religious duties are not so easily neglected. His motives may not be high ones; but he will probably follow the example of his elders, and hear Mass on Sundays and obey the precepts of the Church. But, alas, for the town boy: if his parents fulfil their religious duties, so probably will he; if their influence is bad, their conduct careless or indifferent, so will his be. Now, he is free from all good influence, he is one of a crowd, and, if he wishes, soon escapes notice. Even if for a time the evil is averted,

time passes ; his parents leave the town or parish ; perhaps he loses his work and has to seek it in some place where, knowing no one and himself unknown, he becomes one of the lapsed : a Catholic by baptism, nothing by the rule of life he follows.

Persistently and strenuously Catholics have fought for the religious freedom of their schools. No cry is nearer to the hearts and souls of our Bishops and Clergy than that of a "Catholic education for every Catholic child" ; to assure this, no sacrifice of strength, no self-devotion, no amount of money has been spared. The energies of our school managers are taxed to the very utmost—may we not say even beyond their strength?—and the whole Catholic community is laid under heavy and constant contributions to secure this object.

The progress and prosperity of the Church is wrapped up in the education of her children. At present every effort, every influence, every safeguard is brought to bear upon the child, from the day when as an infant it enters school, until, when still but a child, unformed and unarmed for the battle of life, it leaves school. If its home is neither dissolute nor irreligious, the child is safe from social or religious harm.

But this changes wholly at the age of thirteen or thereabouts. The good influences are withdrawn by force of circumstances ; safeguards disappear : the youth has then the *maximum* of social and religious dangers to face, and the *minimum* of protection and preventive influences wherewith to meet them. Society, whether high or low, is not influenced by a child of thirteen ; but the youth of twenty takes up his position in the social scale, and he will exercise his will and influence, not by what he has learnt from the age of seven to thirteen, but by the lessons received from thirteen to twenty.

Let us look the matter once again fully in the face, and ask the question : After the Church has fostered him with loving care, affection and thoroughness from the age of seven to thirteen, what has been done for him after that age ? Have we done everything in our power ? He was baptized, instructed for his first Communion, and fortified with Confirmation. On the school benches he was passed through his Standards, and on the same benches he was instructed in his religion and taught to live up to his Catechism. He has

been enrolled in confraternities, guilds and associations; but all this, if we do not render his life pleasant by social advantages and attractions, will fall flat upon the childish mind, lacking as it does relief and exhilaration after the dull, dreary monotony of a toiler's life. A remedy too often kills what it would cure.

The truth has to be grasped, that Elementary Day Schools alone will never raise a solid structure of Catholic youth. The gap between innocent, guileless childhood, and the time of assuming the powers and responsibilities of manhood, must be filled up. The influences and safeguards must be extended and continued, if upon the mind of our Catholic youth good and sound principles are to be imprinted. The Church has modelled her subject: it has to be cast of a stuff that will withstand the shocks and storms of life, and her only time for doing this with the human clay which God has given into her hands is between the ages of thirteen and twenty.

Granted, then, that this solemn duty is laid upon us, how is it to be carried out? Evening is the only time the boy can give us, and to attempt to carry on his education according to the day-school standard and method is useless. It is distasteful to those who were lately scholars, and often unwilling ones. It seems to those who have so recently acquired "exemption" from Standards an attack upon their newly-acquired liberty—a retrograde step, in fact. It is distasteful to them also because, after a long day spent in labour, often severe, always tiring, neither body nor mind are capable of long and sustained application. Mr. Scott-Coward, H.M. Inspector of Schools, says of evening schools:

Night schools, I ventured to say in my last report, will be the "continuation schools" of the future. Their progress is slow, except in Manchester, where they are proving a great success, for these reasons chiefly: that the work has been undertaken by a strong central body with energy and determination to spend boldly and largely in the first outlay, and that they have seen clearly that success could only be attained by working on much broader and more plausible lines in the organisation and curriculum of these schools. Large staffs of teachers in numerous centres well distributed over the city have been employed; the subjects of instruction have been framed to suit the youth of both sexes, anxious for self-improvement for its own sake, and to fit themselves by the direct study of special subjects for the practical business of life.

If we ask what the subjects are which have made the evening schools under the Manchester School Board so great a success, we find that in the elementary evening schools the ordinary subjects of instruction are taken, with drawing, shorthand, geography, and English history, in all the schools for males, and, in addition, dumb-bell and Indian club exercise, elementary science and wood carving, &c.; while for females, instruction in practical cookery, dressmaking, cutting-out, and needlework are taught.

In truth, education through recreation must be the motto for evening schools. Education must itself be recreation, and recreation itself education. The youth is not accessible to our influences during his working hours, but at night, when he is free to take his pleasure how and where he pleases. It is on the pleasure side of his character that we must beguile him to revisit the school benches. Arrayed in formidable competition against us are the low music-halls, the penny gaffs, the bars, the " gods " of some cheap theatre. The boy is human; he needs and craves for play and distractions; have it he will, be it good or bad: if it is bad, it is often because that which is good is out of his reach in an attractive form. Our only hope lies in recognising this necessity and supplying it.

The initial step, then, must be one of a recreative nature. The parallel bars and boxing-gloves will at first be more attractive than the class and text-books. Music, vocal and instrumental, magic lantern lectures, together with musical drill, will not fail to draw. If these seem too trifling and unintellectual, let us remember that the work done by the masses in our towns generally tends to lessening and undermining the strength, and that wholesome exercise is a real necessity.

The following rough suggestions on the formation and working of an association to promote the object in view may serve as a starting-point for something more practical and comprehensive. Under whatever name it may hereafter be known, the object of such an association will not be to interfere in any way with existing confraternities, guilds, and the various existing means for keeping alive religion in the hearts of our Catholic youth, but simply and solely to encourage and attract youths who have left school to continue their education at the evening schools which will be opened by the association and placed

under Government inspection. In order to make these schools attractive the association will combine recreation and practical instruction, such as musical drill, physical exercise, wood carving, lantern lectures, singing, shorthand, book-keeping, drawing, mechanics, hygiene, &c., in addition to the subjects required by the Code.

To carry out the work systematically and uniformly a Central Council would be needed in each diocese, or possibly group of dioceses, with local committees affiliated to and acting with the Central Council. The latter would be best under the presidency of the Archbishop or Bishop of the diocese, and might include rectors of missions affiliated to the Association, Catholic members of the School Boards, the Diocesan Religious Inspectors, organisers of districts, ladies and gentlemen of social position, who take an interest in the work. The duties of the Central Council would be to arouse the attention of Catholics to the importance of continuing the education of children after the age of thirteen by means of recreation and practical instruction ; to enlist the services of those who, realising the needs and perils of our youth, will be in earnest to save them from the evils that threaten them ; to undertake the initiative in opening schools where needed ; in deciding the subjects to be taught, the recreations to be provided ; aiding towards the initial expense and offering prizes to stimulate and sustain interest in the work on the part of those frequenting the schools.

As regards the propagation of the Association's aims and objects, the Central Council will probably find that a successful start in a few schools, and thorough co-operation with the managers and teachers of existing day schools, will do more than a glowing prospectus of its hopes and intentions.

The question of providing a staff to teach and a staff to amuse is a serious one. Our certificated teachers, certainly the men best qualified to undertake the teaching, may possibly urge, and if they feel it to be so, rightly, that the hours they spend in the day school and with their pupil teachers are sufficiently long and laborious to exhaust their energies, and that a night school would be the "last straw," under which they would break down. That this is not always the case is sufficiently plain from the fact that most evening schools already at work are manned by the masters and mistresses of day schools.

In some of the larger schools the desire to teach in the evening schools is so great, that it seems a matter of etiquette that the better paid head-master shall withdraw from the work in order to give his assistant teachers the opportunity of earning a share of the Government grant, and thus adding to their stipends. Even if the masters are not willing to undertake the work, it ought not to be impossible to supply their places, as by article 69 of the Code (1892) "any person over eighteen years of age, approved by the Inspector, may be recognised as teacher of an evening school.

It must always be borne in mind in selecting teachers, that the evening classes should be as different as possible in method and tone from those of the day schools. Discipline must of course be well maintained, but it must not be too irksome. There must be the iron hand in the velvet glove. The subjects taught must be treated in a lively, interesting, and, above all, thoroughly practical manner. Popular handbooks must be used. As far as possible lantern lectures must be pressed into the service for history, geography, and simple science.

Peripatetic teachers are easily found to teach mechanics wood-carving, drill, &c., but such teaching is expensive, and should if possible be undertaken by voluntary helpers, provided they are really efficient. That voluntary teachers, and thoroughly good ones, can be found in London at least, Newman House proves beyond a doubt.

The providing of a staff to amuse is a much more serious one. It requires not only ability on the part of the teacher, but a large stock of patience and self-denial.

The Central Council would probably find it best to appoint, from its number, a committee to deal with the supplying of both staffs of teachers. There would be in each department enough work to engage a committee's earnest and constant attention. The two staffs will need constantly recruiting and filling up.

The Central Council would find it of great service also to appoint from its number, "organisers," each of whom should have the supervision of a fixed number of schools. This plan has already been found to work well in London. The experience gained by occasional visits to different schools, enables "the organiser" to see the weak and strong points

of the various systems in use. He is thus able to give valuable advice to the teachers, and at the same time to serve as a means of communication between the Central Council and his schools.

There is one rock of danger to be guarded against, and that is the appearance of interference with the managers of our schools. If the priest of a mission sees his way to man the schools himself, well and good; he has the undoubted right to do so, and is perfectly justified in refusing any outside assistance. But when he cannot see his way and is yet anxious and willing that such evening schools should be started in his mission, the Council must be prepared to do it for him. Many a Rector of a poor and ignorant district has a hundred cares and anxieties, and does not regard with favour a scheme which threatens to add to their number. Such a burdened priest might say, "God knows, such a school is needed in my mission; my children, who have left school, are many of them lost in the streets: but what can I do? I have neither the time, the men, nor the means necessary to set on foot a school such as you propose. The schoolrooms are there, dark and dim on a winter's evening. Take them, and send down to them those who have the leisure and the will to amuse and interest my children."

The Central Council will only be able to do its work efficiently by making itself thoroughly conversant with the Code laid down by the Education Department, and, in addition to this, by acquiring a knowledge of the character and calling of those who are to be invited to frequent an evening school. By this means only a scheme of continuation subjects may be arranged which will the most closely affect the scholars in the occupations and industries by which they hope to earn a living.

In addition to this Central Council it would be necessary, when a branch is opened, to appoint a local committee similar in its aims and objects, which should work the district as the Central Council does the diocese. Working men should be invited to join; their interests are most deeply concerned, and their practical knowledge of trades may be turned to sound use.

The interest and sympathy of the congregations might be aroused and sustained by periodical concerts, entertainments, and exhibitions given by the lads frequenting the evening classes. The schools will thus find favour with the parents. The other duties of the local committee would be to appoint a secretary and treasurer to receive fees and keep all the necessary books, and to determine the days and hours most suitable for opening and closing the schools.

Evening classes are no novelty among Catholics. At present there are twenty-eight Catholic evening schools, all connected with day schools. The average attendance, from the last report of the Education Department, was 795 male and 232 female scholars, while 1253 were qualified by attendance for examination. The amount of grant for the year ending 31st August 1891 was £597 16s., or an average of 11s. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. for each scholar in average attendance. The number of scholars on the register between the ages of fourteen and twenty was 1475; over that age, 31.

In a scheme, such as the one outlined, considerable expense must be incurred at the outset, which could only be met by generous donations on the part of those who take an interest in the well-being of our Catholic youth. No branch could be opened until the Central Council saw clearly their way to meet the immediate demands for an instructive and recreative class, and also for the initial outlay on articles required for the school.

It is possible that some help might be procured from the new fund allocated to County Councils under the Local Taxation Act, 1890, for the purposes of technical and secondary education. Technical education seems now taken to include drawing, science, mathematics, modern languages, book-keeping, shorthand, commercial history, elementary manual training, and in rural districts agricultural instruction.

The British Institute of Wood Carvers supplies competent craftsmen, who can give efficient instruction in wood-carving and modelling at a small charge.

It is to the Education Department, however, that any scheme of the kind proposed must go for permanent and continuous aid.

A minute of the Education Department, establishing a Code

of regulations for evening schools, was presented to Parliament shortly before its dissolution. This Code will, before coming into force, have to lie on the table of both Houses of Parliament for one month. It will probably be in force before any steps are taken to open evening schools. Its provisions therefore may briefly be enumerated: An attendance means an attendance at secular instruction of one hour or more on a given evening. A scholar may make two attendances on one and the same evening, and not more than four attendances in the same week. A scholar to be presented for examination is required to make an attendance at least once a month for ten weeks, and to receive instruction for at least twenty hours in the subject in which he is presented.

A grant of 4s. per head if the school has met not less than forty-five times, nor more than sixty-one times; a grant of 6s. per head if the school has met more than sixty-one times since the last examination. A 2s. or 1s. 3d. grant will be paid for each scholar who is presented. The Department decides which amount shall be paid for each subject, after considering the report of H.M. Inspector. The condemned system of payment by results on individual examination is abolished in this Code.

The Department submits in this Code a scheme; but does not insist upon its use. Managers are free to devise and submit one, provided a syllabus of not less than twenty lessons of one hour's length on any subject sanctioned by the Department, be submitted to and approved by the Inspector at the beginning of the school year.

In the scheme of the Department thirty courses of instruction, suited to the short sessions of the evening schools, are given, embracing such subjects as reading, writing, arithmetic, English history, geography, mechanics, botany, &c. Managers must apply in writing before January 1st to the Inspector for an examination of their evening classes. These examinations will take place between January 1st and the 30th of April. If less than twenty scholars are to be presented at one school, they will be examined collectively, date and place to be fixed by the Inspector.

In order that an evening school may receive an annual grant, the principal teacher must be certificated, or recognised

under Article 11, and must not be allowed to undertake duties not connected with the school, which may occupy any part whatever of the social hours.

How far such a scheme, as has been outlined, may meet with the approbation of those who alone could carry it out, must for the present remain uncertain. Doubtless many modifications would be necessary, and the scheme could only be perfected by experience. But our lads are, many of them, now running wild in the streets of our great towns. Would it not be well to start at once a scheme which needs amendment, rather than wait for one which is perfect, and lose our boys?

W. M. HUNNYBUN.

ART. X.—OUR EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK.

THE voluntary system, as it is often styled, though in truth its more appropriate designation is the denominational, would seem to be now in a more favourable position than it was a few years ago. It has been strengthened in the case of the great majority of its schools by the fee grant, and by the grants under Articles 104 and 105 of the New Code ; and has, notwithstanding, been left in possession, in unimpaired fulness, of all its old privileges and liberties. There is no overt active agitation against it, and all is outwardly calm and serene around it. This, then, is surely not the time to question its safety or criticise its position, or, least of all, sound any distinct note of alarm respecting it. Let sleeping dogs lie.

We own to being less confident of its prospects ; and so much do we feel their radical insecurity that we propose not only to question its safety and criticise its position, but also to sound the alarm note in no uncertain key. And we will do this because we believe that by so doing good will result, which by diverting the attention of its supporters to the real state of public feeling in regard to its position, with its anomalies and shortcomings, will induce them to meet its critics, if not opponents, half way, by concession of some of their privileges, and by an adjustment of certain existing anomalies, to be met on the other side by an equal spirit of conservative compromise.

Let us for a moment consider the present conditions of the voluntary system. It is still responsible for the education of the great bulk of the children of the nation, and its revenue is, to the extent of nearly three-fourths, derived from the general taxation of the country. The voluntary contributions which justified its name originally are shrinking rapidly, and there is every probability of their continuing to shrink. The management of its schools is largely individual, and if representative at all, is only very partially so ; so that the phrase "one-man management" is hardly an exaggeration. This management is to a large extent practically irresponsible. It appoints and dismisses teachers *ad nutum* ; it regulates to a very appreciable

extent the curriculum of instruction in the schools; and it disburses vast sums of money with comparatively slight control. The school buildings are its own, and beyond the amount of supervision exercised by the Education Department over them, they are free to be dealt with as their managers choose. The schools are confessional, and are the buttresses and feeders of the denominations to which they respectively belong. They are the sole means of education in scores of parishes, and where, as often occurs, there are members of other denominations who must perforce resort to the one school of the district for education, there is no representation of their feelings and views on the governing body of the school. The children of dissenting or other folk who must attend the one school of the parish may be dealt with very fairly (and are undoubtedly most fairly and honourably treated in the vast majority of cases), but they may not, and in this latter case there is no voice that can be raised in their defence.

The managers of the schools may be energetic or inactive; they may be wise in their management or foolish; they may be popular or the reverse; but however it is, the fact remains that the prosperity and success of the school depend upon the accident of the kind of manager whom fate allots to it as director of its fortunes. The financial strength of a school largely depends upon the wisdom and popularity of one man: a foolish man may cripple it severely. And in the proportion in which the funds of the school are flourishing or the opposite stands its educational value. There is doubtless the reverse side of the picture, on which are portrayed in distinct lines the noble services rendered by the voluntary system to the cause of education. Its promoters were the first in the field, and in establishment and maintenance made in no stinted measure a vast sacrifice of time, service and money, which should in fairness be recorded and never forgotten. And in practice, and on the whole, they have not abused their large liberty of action. And if this can be said of them in the past, the same may be said now; and it is only the bare truth urges that but for the voluntary system at this moment public education would not be as satisfactory in its results nor as humanising in its effects as we are glad to avow it to be.

The existing features of that system are the inheritance of the past, and are the outcome of the conditions under which it originated and was necessarily conducted. They were inevitable in the circumstances under which the movement began ; not a general but a partial movement ; not national in its extent, but limited within the bounds of the different religious bodies of the country ; and touching the national sentiment but at few points of contact, it could not be regarded as national, and while aided by the nation, it failed to attract its attention or rouse its sympathy fully. What wonder, then, that it fell short in some important aspects of the ideal of a fully national system of education, and provoked criticism and even hostility on that account, as well as the angry tenacity with which its advocates defended it, and held to the *status quo* despite its changed and rapidly changing conditions.

The passing of the Education Act of 1870 was the first formal recognition by the nation in law of the importance and duty of educating its members. It was at once the enunciation of a solemn obligation and the institution of a method of fulfilling it. And that Act effected at the outset a crisis in the existing but only partial instrument of education, the denominational system ; for while leaving it in possession of the field of its operations, and free to compete as well with the State-created method of providing for educational needs, it handicapped it in its competition by excluding it from the advantage of benefiting by the rates, considering, and justly considering, that for the privilege of the large measure of unfettered freedom still left to it, it should pay in voluntary contributions the equivalent of the rates. The strain upon the system soon became apparent, and efforts were made, with some energy at first, to relieve it ; but the task was beyond its powers, at least in the direction of its expansion, and all the effort now exercised is rather in the direction of maintaining in efficiency the schools already in existence. But this is again giving way under the stress of the increasing requirements which improved methods of instruction, supported by a growing national interest in the subject, demand. Its supporters, as they withdraw their aid, diminish in number, do not lessen the quota of funds to be provided locally, and the burden falls upon the shoulders of

the few, who for the most part can ill afford or who are unwilling to bear it alone. Both soon reject it wholly. The clergyman, with his family to educate, will refuse to tax his slender resources to benefit others. Mr. A. will refuse to subscribe because Mr. B. will not, and so on; the school meanwhile losing its vitality and sinking into inefficiency. For in the survey of the conditions in which voluntary schools exist for the most part, are, we think, contained the elements of the danger which we believe to lie closer at their doors than would seem at first sight probable. For those conditions reveal features of grave aspect, an aspect which places the whole system in little harmony with popular sentiment, and no institutions can be safe which are not in harmony with that sentiment.

As far as it is yet manifest and explicit, that sentiment is not content that the public schools of the country should not be in effect national as well as denominational; and we shall fail to convince it that they are truly national so long as they remain isolated in their management from popular control of an actually efficient nature; so long as they are under the control of individuals with no representative qualifications; so long as their expenditure is not controlled by some more efficient audit than now exists; while any of their buildings remain backward in equipment and below a proper standard of efficiency as regards brightness, ventilation, and sanitary requirements; while their low financial condition breeds inefficiency and continues to send the children of the nation, its hope for the future, into the world under-taught and ill-prepared to fulfil the duties of citizens with vigour and intelligence. The nation, as the subject of popular education comes into greater prominence, is becoming more familiar with its conditions and more interested in its future, and is more sensitively alive to the importance of analysing the nature and character of the instruments upon which vast sums of money are bestowed for the purposes of education. It is growing in the determination that the money expended shall be spent as effectively as possible, and is rapidly resolving that all the machinery upon which it is spent shall be as productive of valuable results as care can make it. It is in the main in no mere spirit of hostility to religious schools as such that it begins to view them with a critical eye, and to subject them to closer and

more jealous scrutiny than of yore ; but rather in the spirit of an anxious desire that one of the first of duties should be performed in a manner and degree becoming its importance and solemnity. And we confess to a feeling of satisfaction with this attitude of solicitude of the nation for the due instruction of its youth, and to our inability to express surprise at its awakening or any resentment at its activity, even though it may here and there press heavily on a system with which we are in full sympathy, and which we believe ought to be maintained, and can be maintained if only its advocates will be wise enough and energetic enough to concede some of their less essential privileges in order to retain their more valuable ones. It is not, we think, too late to do this even now, and we are confident that terms may be made and an efficient *modus vivendi* established by which the religious character of the voluntary schools may be retained and their secular features improved and strengthened in a manner to guarantee their life for many years to come. But no time should be lost ; delay is dangerous. For the rapid growth of opinion and its swiftness to be resolved into action is characteristic of our age ; and if it be allowed to take the initiative in this matter, it may rise into a wave that will overwhelm and sweep away our religious system of education, either wholly, or mutilate it as to render it weak and valueless.

The question suggests itself, What can be done ? In reply we would urge that reform must come from within, spontaneously. Not indeed by action in the first place within the schools individually. That would be, in their present circumstances of independent isolation, impossible. The great bodies of which they are the units, should, as a first step, organise some means of bringing them into a more responsible relationship with themselves. This would, in effect, be tantamount to drawing them out of the shade into the fuller healthier light of the public opinion of the bodies to which they belong. It would be to relieve them from the reproach of living irresponsible lives. Means should be found to confederate them for the purposes of mutual support and strength, to remove from them the stigma of the hole-and-corner one-man management, a despotic method of government which weakens their position, and is a permanent

menace to their continuance. The representative principle should be frankly applied in the constitution of their managing bodies ; their accounts should be submitted to public investigation ; and their buildings should be secured, and their structural condition and equipment made the subject of criticism.

As we have said above, all this implies a large surrender of long-existing privileges, on the whole well and wisely used, and not often intentionally or seriously abused. It will seem to be a blow aimed at the life of the parochial system. We do not share that view, or if we do admit that, so far as educational matters are concerned, the parochial system would suffer some loss of power and prestige, we are at the same time most fully convinced that it is the only way to hope to retain any influence and authority over the instruction of the children.

And we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the managers of the schools of the country will be so short-sighted as to fail to recognise the need for concessions of the kind and extent we have indicated as the most practical way to a favourable solution of the difficulty. Coalescing and finding some central body constituted on a representative basis to stand between them, the public at large, and the powers of the State, they would derive much moral strength, and stand a much better chance of having their claims attended to, and their difficulties considered, than under their present conditions. A strongly organised body that would undertake the work of popularising and, within limits, fully nationalising its school, could command, would necessarily command, the attention and respect of the public at large, and would be a shield of defence and support to all the institutions connected with it. For—and it cannot be repeated too often—there is, we believe, no hostility to denominational schools as religious schools in the public mind at large. It is rather against certain features of their management that opposition is rising. It is felt that, so long as they continue to distinguish them they cannot be free to develop into complete strength and efficiency, and therefore cannot be regarded as worthy of the full confidence and support of the nation. We further believe that, provided the reform be made effectively, the instrument which works it will not be regarded with much severe criticism. The religious sentiment of the nation is still sufficiently alive to be averse from any wholesale extinction

of schools in which the religious education of its youth is provided for and cherished. It would therefore, we feel assured, prefer to see them placed on that broad basis of safety which only the popular sympathy can afford. But that sympathy they will never gain, they will on the contrary lose, so long as the individual and clerical element is the preponderating element in their management; so long as they fail to afford equal guarantees with the Board schools that the conditions necessary for the maintenance of health, and the importing of sound intellectual training ever present in them; so long as they remain, as many of them do, at the verge of starvation, and are perennially embarrassed for funds, if not actually insolvent. Co-operation, federation will do much to save them, to raise them to a higher standard of vigorous life than they have ever hitherto enjoyed, and establish them as a publicly recognised and approved instrument of building up our national fabric of education.

If the religious denominations are sincerely in earnest—and notably the Church of England, within whose borders the battle will be won or lost—it may be difficult, but will be quite possible, to bring about this federation and co-operation; and it is to be hoped that the sense of a common danger, and the perception of a solemn duty, will enable their ministers, on whom the successful issue of any effort must depend, to rise above the petty jealousy of power and privilege into the higher air of sacrifice for the general good.

It is in the Church of England that is seen, and naturally, the weakness of the system in greatest bulk and force, and it is she, therefore, who stands in most jeopardy. She therefore should arm first for the encounter, and lead the van of reform.

But she may, nevertheless, do well to take counsel with the smaller bodies for their mutual good. They share a common principle and have a common aim, and should unite and march shoulder to shoulder with her in crusade, with objects of a most practical nature in view. For the Catholic body this question is fraught with peculiar interest. No religious body in the country, it may fairly be said without arrogance, is as sternly, as uncompromisingly in earnest in maintaining the distinctly religious character of its schools, as is the Catholic body. It has spent enormous sums of money in building and supporting

its schools, at the cost of much self-sacrifice; it is proud of their recognised efficiency as a whole; it has never surrendered one of them to a Board, and if any have been closed it has been that the need for their existence had ceased.

The question with us, then, is, How can we organise ourselves to meet the requirements on which we have been dwelling, in order to prove to the public that we recognise the seriousness and justice of its demands in many respects, and are determined to satisfy them. The general principle of solution applies with us, as with the other denominations, in dealing with the difficulty. It is to bring the whole educational machinery to a point, and subject it to the popular control of the whole body. To modify individual and isolated action by co-ordinating with, and subordinating to, collective and representative action in individual localities.

To bring these local bodies—or parochial committees—into contact with a wider popular jurisdiction, the diocesan, and to bring these again into contact with a central and supreme body representing the entire Catholic community—such an organisation would bring the individual school in the first place into the light of parochial opinion by the means of an elected committee of management; the schools of the diocese would be placed under the eye of a properly constituted diocesan board, which in its turn would derive much help by connection with a central council.

In former years the Catholic Poor School Committee was the recognised organ of communication between the Catholics and the Government in educational matters, and performed a most valuable service which could not have been done by one person. Its usefulness at that time illustrates the value of possessing some central organisation to represent at headquarters or with the public at large the educational interests of a religious denomination. The National Society affords another instance of this.

And we have at hand at this moment in the Catholic School Committee the germ of such a central body as I am advocating to focus and represent our educational affairs. Its constitution might be modified as far as necessary to adapt it to its new functions, one of the chief of which would be to advocate the cause of Catholic education, as occasion might require its advo-

cacy, with the Education Department and otherwise. One of those occasions would be the event of any proposed change of legislation affecting the schools, either by modifying the principle of the payment of the grant for the existing method of their control. It would be admirably fitted to collect the opinions of the body at large, and be its mouthpiece in representing it in the proper quarter.

It would be able to suggest with much weight to the diocesan councils some appropriate and common lines of action in dealing with the local committees—on the principles on which they should act in undertaking the general supervision of them; how far their interference should extend; on what matters the local managers should be restrained from acting independently, and so on.

It would suggest the importance of certain courses of conduct in regard to the appointment and dismissal of teachers, so as to bring it into harmony, as far as possible, with the public sentiment, and direct attention to the urgent need for careful account-keeping and for a public audit by a duly appointed official of the yearly school accounts before presenting them to the Education Department.

In short, the central body would, so to say, give the keynote to the organisations subordinate to it, leaving them free to act in carrying out its suggestions as circumstances might indicate one method or another. It would not absorb their responsibility, as its mode of action would be suggestive rather than legislative; but its broadly representative character would invest it with an importance and authority which would give and be intended to impart to its acts great weight.

We would urge that the lay element in the constitution of such a body should be its strong feature—not merely numerically, but representatively. No number of laymen sitting in such an assembly would have outside significance who were merely nominees. For their presence to be a potential fact with the outside world it must have seal and sign of the choice of the body outside. They must be sent from without, not invited from within. We are intimately convinced that without such an element to give it virtue and force and life, it will in the long run fall short of its aim. And as in the central, so in the lesser organisations, we would urge the vital importance

of engrafting in the fullest measure this lay element into their constitution. Its importance should be recognised in the lowest sphere with as much care as in the highest. The parents of the children of the school should be drawn into its management, to make them feel that it is their school, not the school of the priest only; that they in reality have in fact the greater stake in its life and progress, and thus so to bind them into union with its fortunes as to make them its buttresses and props. An institution, in our democratic age, that rests for its support on the shallow foundation of a class or an individual, will die from want of atmosphere—the breath of life will be withdrawn from it—the invigorating air of popular sympathy.

One of the possible, we would even say probable, outcomes of such a renovated system of school management would be a large improvement in their financial strength. And with a general strengthening of the financial resources will come greater efficiency and stability.

No educational system can be regarded as stable and secure which allows popular sentiment to run far ahead of it in aims and ideals. It must overtake it, or be left behind hopelessly. Ample, or at any rate sufficient, resources alone can give it the necessary strength and elasticity to do this. Institutions that enjoy the heart's sympathy of the public rarely fail in resources; they ride on the crests of the waves. And if the denominational system will but prove that it can be that, and a truly national one as well, it will require no special pleading nor ingenious rhetoric to prolong its existence. It will claim its right to retain its place as one of the efficient as well as the oldest of the educational agencies of our country.

If the Church of England, we repeat, will be up and doing, and take into her hands as a body the undoubtedly formidable task of reorganising and improving her elementary school system, by making it more popular in management, more efficient in its details of premises, staff, &c., that system may hope to last many years more. But should she fail in energy and let things go on unchanged, it will rapidly break up. The result must profoundly affect all the smaller denominations, and most severely our own, which has so small a "portion of the good things of this life" to fall

back upon, that the maintenance of our schools will become a subject very serious and difficult.

There is, however, this hope left us, which springs from our belief in the fairness and generosity of our fellow-countrymen. It is the hope that we shall be allowed, in consideration of our convictions, efforts, sacrifices, and the efficiency of our schools, to retain unimpaired our freedom, provided that at the same time we keep them well abreast of modern requirements and maintain their national character.

W. SCOTT COWARD.

Science Notices.

The Future of Aluminium.—The rapid decrease in the price of aluminium during the last three years seems to promise a brilliant future for the use of this metal, whose characteristic lightness commends its use for so many purposes where strength is needed, but weight is undesirable. Three years ago, to produce aluminium by the Deville-Castor process at 20s. per lb. was thought to be a great reduction on the previous price, which had been three times that amount; but the contemporaneous discovery of the electrolytic methods of reducing aluminium, have resulted in a rapid lowering of the market price. Starting three years ago at 20s. per lb., it quickly fell to 15s., then to 12s., then to 8s. and 6s. A year ago it seemed that the climax of reduction of the market value had been reached, but the Pittsburg Reduction Company then made the surprising statement that they could supply the metal at 4s. 2d. per lb. The competition of the Aluminium Industry Company of Neuhausen, Switzerland, who had the advantage of copious water power, has brought down the price of aluminium of 99 per cent. guaranteed purity to 2s. per lb. According to Mr. G. L. Addenbrooke, who recently addressed the Society of Arts on the subject, such a rapid fall in the market value of a metal is without precedent, and one might add that it seems a prophetic example of the revolutions which the applications of electricity are destined to work in our industries.

The method by which the electrolysis is accomplished in the new industry, is exceedingly simple. The furnace in which the metal is reduced from the ore consists of an iron-cased box, which is thickly lined with carbon, having in the centre a cavity into which the materials for reduction are placed. One pole of the dynamo machine supplying the electric current is connected to the carbon lining, forming the kathode. A large block of carbon, so arranged that it can be dipped into the central cavity of the furnace, and in connection with the other pole of the dynamo, forms the anode. If required, several of the furnaces can be connected up in series.

In this apparatus 25 per cent. only of the energy is used for reduction directly, the rest being absorbed in heating the materials, so there is a considerable margin left for further perfecting the process, and still further decreasing the cost of production.

As Mr. Addenbrooke points out, the cost of aluminium is, bulk for
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bulk, not greatly in excess of copper. At present the cost of copper is about 5d. per lb., and since it is $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as heavy as aluminium, the latter at 22s. per lb. would equal copper at, say, 7d. per lb. In the pure state aluminium is not very suitable for castings, as it is somewhat softer than copper. Therefore the fit alloying of the pure metal to improve its qualities without sacrificing its lightness, is distinctly of importance. To produce a thoroughly satisfactory alloy has not been an easy matter. The addition of such substances as zinc, silicon, tin, and nickel, when applied singly, gives the metal the desired hardness, but they each produce some counterbalancing disadvantage. The only metal that alloys well with aluminium is silver, but the cost is prohibitive.

In practice it has been found that a combination of substances gives the desired effect, and an alloy is now obtainable which is whiter and harder than pure aluminium, while it can be turned as easily as brass. Its exact composition is a trade secret.

When aluminium has to be rolled, or drawn, it is advisable to use the pure metal. Aluminium can easily be rolled into sheets even to foil leaves of the thickness of $\frac{1}{40000}$ of an inch. This leaf is superseding silver for gilding, on account of its permanence. Sheets of aluminium cold rolled become very hard, and stand a fair amount of bending; they have been used with success for making canoes and the hulls of steam launches. Articles that are stamped or spun in aluminium are likely to be much used in the future, as aluminium adapts itself extremely well to this kind of work. For instance, a stethoscope can be entirely spun up from a circular plate. Amongst other useful articles thus manufactured, are helmets for firemen. Tubes made of aluminium are found to bear severe tests of pressure, and their use wherever lightness is desirable, as in the case of telescopes, is likely to become general.

Considering the electric conductivity of aluminium is 200 per cent. that of copper—weight for weight—the latter will probably ere long have a formidable rival in aluminium electric mains.

Liquid Air and Oxygen.—Professor Dewar's experiments with liquid air and oxygen have certainly been amongst the most attractive physical demonstrations of the scientific year. A recent audience at the Royal Institution literally saw the professor pour air into a wine-glass, and hand it to Lord Kelvin. In the apparatus employed by Professor Dewar to liquefy oxygen, he uses two compressors driven by a gas engine. The chamber containing the oxygen to be liquefied is surrounded by two circuits, one traversed by ethylene, the other by nitrous oxide. Liquid oxygen when filtered is a clear transparent

liquid, with a slightly blue tinge. A feature of liquid oxygen is the great resistance it presents to the disruptive electric discharges. A tube full of liquid oxygen was placed in parallel with the discharge knobs of an induction coil, and electrodes $\frac{1}{10}$ mm. apart were introduced into the tube. Nearly all the sparking was in the air. Liquid oxygen gives the same spectrum as it does in the gaseous state. Perhaps the most striking of Professor Dewar's experiments was the illustration of the magnetic properties of liquid oxygen. Taking Becquerel's scale, the magnetic susceptibility of iron is 1,000,000; gaseous oxygen, 377; that of liquid oxygen, 1000. The professor poured liquid oxygen into a cup of rock salt placed between the poles of the historic electro-magnet belonging to the Laboratory of the Royal Institution, and when the magnet was excited the liquid was lifted up and clung in a mass to the poles of the magnet as if it were a heap of iron filings. A tube shaped like the letter **U** was filled with the liquid and placed between the poles, and when the current passed the liquid was sucked out. A ball of cotton-wool was then moistened with liquid oxygen, and it adhered to the poles.

The liquefaction of atmospheric air was produced under the ordinary pressure of the atmosphere. A tube containing liquid oxygen was evaporated at gradually decreasing temperatures. An inner tube was left open to the air; this was in a short time filled with liquid air. The liquid air was also found to be highly magnetic.

The Meteorology of Health Resorts.—The increasing facilities of intercommunication induce the wider recommendation of climatic cures. Hence it becomes of the utmost importance that the study of the meteorology of the various health resorts should form part of the curriculum of the medical student. It is asking too much to expect every physician to be a meteorological observer, although the present president of the Royal Meteorological Society most usefully combines physician and meteorologist; but a more extended literature of the subject is needed, from which the medical adviser may derive his information and avoid that haphazard selection of a climate which to a delicate patient may be kill or cure. Dr. C. Theodore Williams dwelt upon this important subject on the occasion of the last annual exhibition of meteorological instruments in connection with the Royal Meteorological Society, and urged the extended use of instruments relating to climatology in health resorts. The thermometer he claims to be "the great foundation of climatic selection and classification," and one of the most important of its uses he considers to be the registration of the temperature of the air during those hours of the day which are devoted to outdoor exercise of invalids, the night tempera-

ture being of much less consequence. The thermometer also furnishes information as to whether a climate is one of equability or of extremes, and in every locality that claims to be a health resort such observations should be made systematically over a prolonged period of time. Dr. Williams regrets that the sunshine recorder is as yet so little utilised in health resorts. The value of the direct action of sunlight on the human system is now fully recognised, and Dr. Williams urges those who are recovering from illness at various stations, to utilise every available ray of direct sunlight, excepting in those very hot climates where sunstrokes may be a likely danger. He says :

We can hardly doubt but that the beneficial changes which we note in the vegetable kingdom may to some extent take place in the animal kingdom, and that circulation, cell formation, growth of nerve and muscle, are all largely promoted by these rays.

The records of the rain-gauge are all important. These show how the rainfall is distributed throughout the year at any place, enabling an intending visitor to avoid the months generally found to be rainy at each resort. But as Dr. Williams points out, an ideal rain-gauge should tell us more than this; it should register at what hour in the twenty-four hours the rain falls, whether it is by day or by night, whether it is in the form of heavy showers with intervals of dryness, or whether it is continuous fine rain. Unfortunately, there is no instrument as yet devised that combines all this information; but some of the best instruments are approaching this perfection.

The use of the hygrometer should also be extended, for dryness is one of the first considerations in the choice of a health resort, and what is so unfavourable to the growth of vegetation is most favourable for recovery from such illnesses as rheumatism, bronchitis, asthma, and consumption. The late exhibition of meteorological instruments was supplied with an exceptionally good display of the varieties of the hygrometer. There were several patterns of De Saussure's Hair Hygrometer, in which the moisture of the air is measured by its influence on a human hair, and which is much used in cold climates where the dry and wet bulb instruments fail. In another form invented by Kater the hair is replaced by a twisted filament of the Indian grass. Dr. Williams maintains that the ordinary fluctuations of the barometer, as noticed at the sea level, do not materially affect the condition of an invalid; but the influence of diminished and increased barometric pressure is of the utmost importance, and he has promised a separate discourse entirely devoted to this subject. Systematic observations as to the direction of the

wind are of extreme importance, and the use of the anemometer to record its force should not be neglected.

Dr. Williams, however, points out that even after every possible observation has been made in connection with the meteorology of any station, there are climatic problems still remaining to be solved.

No meteorological instrument has yet been able to inform us why this climate is exciting, and that sedative; why a patient loses his appetite here and regains it there; why an asthmatic sufferer breathes freely in one place and lives in misery in another not apparently differing from the first in meteorological conditions.

Dr. Williams insists upon the necessity of increased effort to unravel these secrets, and thinks it may be accomplished by the co-operation of other sciences, such as chemistry and physics. There is wanting a more complete analysis of the air of health resorts at various seasons of the year; he also thinks that observations with the spectroscope might throw light on much that is now obscure, and adds that spectroscopic observations would not be difficult, a very short preliminary study qualifying an observer.

The district that Dr. Williams has made his special study for thirty years is the famous group of health resorts in the Riviera. He points out that the climatic features of the north coast-line of the Mediterranean from London to La Spezzia depend on three factors: (1) The southerly latitude, as this part of the country lies between $43^{\circ} 7'$ and 44° north latitude. (2) The protection from cold winds by mountain ranges. (3) The warming and equalising influence of the Mediterranean sea. The first factor is shown in the warmth of sunshine during the winter months. Regarding the second factor, although the whole coast-line is sheltered from cold winds, there is some variation in the amount of shelter. This balances to some extent the difference in latitude between the various localities. The most northerly localities are the best protected, so the difference in temperature between those and the most southerly is small. Regarding the third factor, the Mediterranean Sea, its principal features are (1) almost complete absence of tide, causing its influence to remain always stable. (2) Its exceptional saltness, containing more saline matter than either the British Channel or the Atlantic. Traces of this saline matter have been detected by Gilbert d'Harcont in the air 400 metres inland, and at an elevation of 229 feet, and De Coppet detected it by spectrum analysis 1000 or 1200 metres inland. (3) Its warmth being several degrees warmer than the Atlantic in the same latitude. The surface temperature depends largely on the sun's rays, but it has been found that there is a

uniformity of temperature for all soundings below 100 fathoms. In the course of the soundings of the *Porcupine* expedition it was found that the temperature of 54° remained uniform to 1743 fathoms, the greatest depth explored. This is probably due to the absence of arctic currents. The presence of the warm sea neutralises the effect of radiation on its shores. The temperature of the Mediterranean in winter seldom falls below 52° , and often rises to 64° .

Dr. Williams confined his remarks to the meteorology of the Riviera during the winter and spring season, from November 1st to April 30th, this period of time being what concerns those in search of health. The mean temperature of the region varies from $50^{\circ}\cdot8$ to $51^{\circ}\cdot5$. It is nearly 8° to 10° higher than that of Greenwich for the similar period. The minimum is from 42° to $46^{\circ}\cdot5$, being lowest in December. The fall of temperature at sunset is considerable, especially in December and January, when the fall has been known to be $2^{\circ}\cdot5$ in 12 minutes, and 10° or 11° in $\frac{1}{4}$ hours. Sometimes the grass inland in early morning is covered with hoar frost, and Dr. Williams testifies to having seen snow lying on the ground for a few hours.

In 1879 I saw the ground white with snow and rose-leaves embedded with ice, while roses and heliotrope were in full bloom in the gardens at Cannes. The mean maximum varies from $56^{\circ}\cdot7$ to $59^{\circ}\cdot6$.

The sunshine heat is considerable, the mean monthly maximum varies from 91° in December to 120° in April. The relative humidity varies from 61 to 74 per cent. The annual rainfall is about 31 inches, distributed over 65 days. The rainy months are September, October, and November, when generally nearly half of the total falls. During the winter months the fall is about 20 inches distributed over some 40 days. The rain falls in heavy showers, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches has been known to fall in $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The intervening periods are usually fine and dry.

Dr. Williams lays stress on the winds as being one of the chief features of the Riviera climate. The westerly winds are dry and the easterly and southerly moist, a surprise to the British visitor who is accustomed to dry east winds. The north-west wind, called the "mistral," is exceedingly dry, parching up the country and driving before it clouds of dust. Owing to its desiccating influence it produces the impression of great cold. The mistral appears to originate in the descent of an upper current to supply the place of the mass of heated air ascending from the Rhone valley and the western Mediterranean basin. The north-east wind, called the "bise," comes from some portion of the maritime Alps, and is generally accompanied by rain or even, at times, by snow. This wind, however, seldom prevails for more than about eight days in the year, and most of the health-stations are sheltered from its influence. The southerly and easterly winds,

which are most common, are harmless. The scirocco, or south-east wind, is, in late spring, hot and relaxing.

In Dr. Williams' opinion the cold winds of the Riviera, which are a source of complaint to many, are decidedly useful to the climate, exercising an aseptic and bracing influence, in what would be otherwise a too protected and calm an atmosphere. He adds that the cold nights are specially beneficial, as promoting sleep.

Aërial Navigation.—The eyes of a large portion of the scientific world are fixed with a twofold gaze on the latest work of Mr. Maxim, his experiments in *aëronautical* machinery. Astonishment is pretty rife that so practically successful a man should expend time, energy, and money on behalf of a science which in this country is comparatively neglected, and, consequently, unesteemed; and keen interest is also apparent in investigations which have already borne fruit and whose results may be so momentous. Mr. Maxim must attract the encouragement of a large section of the public when he states that *aërial* navigation will arrest war, because it will make it as dangerous and disagreeable for the rulers of the nation as it is for the common soldier! The latest successful attempts in *aërial* navigation have been made by machines lighter than air, viz., the "dirigible" balloons of the French Government. These balloons, at great expense in time and money, have been produced capable of steering against a moderate wind, and there has been a consequent veering of public opinion to the belief that if *aërial* navigation is attained it will be by means of machines lighter than air. Professor Langley in America and Mr. Maxim in England seem to incline to the older French belief, that the balloon is an obstacle, and, as Nadar puts it in his famous manifesto in 1863, that to seek to combat the air by something lighter than air is a folly. While to balloonists weight is an obstacle, to the advocates of flying machines weight, under certain conditions, is a desideratum.

Machines heavier than air for navigating the same may be divided into three classes: those with a vertical motion and wings, such as artificial birds; those with rudders and a more horizontal motion; and *aëroplanes*—that is, a plane or planes driven through the air at an angle by means of some form of propulsion. The two first classes have been quite replaced by the *aëroplane*, which, at the same time that it is recent in date and form, may yet claim an ancestry in the kite of Archytas.

Professor Langley and Mr. Maxim have both experimented with *aëroplanes*, in the belief they needed the least power, and in his work on *Aërodynamics* Professor Langley makes the following important

statements : That the lifting power of each horse-power increases with speed ; that the "sustaining pressure of the air on a plane one foot square, moving at a small angle of inclination to a horizontal path, is many times greater than would result from the formula implicitly given by Newton ;" that owing to the light weight of the present effective steam engines mechanical flight is possible with them, and that "whereas in land or marine transport increased speed is maintained only by a disproportionate expenditure of power within the limits of experiment, in such aerial horizontal transport the higher speeds are more economical of power than the lower ones." The relations of power, area, weight, and speed have been experimentally established for planes of small area ; and Professor Langley thinks there is no reason to doubt they will hold good for planes of area sufficient for men and the necessary fuel for some time at a speed sufficient to meet ordinary winds.

Mr. Maxim's experiments endorse some of the above statements. "I found that whatever push my screw communicated to the *aéroplane* the plane would lift in a vertical direction from ten to fifteen times as much as the horizontal push that it received from the screw, and which depended upon the angle at which the plane was set and the speed at which the apparatus was travelling through the air." For his motor Mr. Maxim made use of steam engines, thinking them the lightest in proportion to the power developed. He constructed two sets of compound engines of tempered steel, and the steam generator was peculiarly made. His fuel was naphtha. The total weight of the engines is only 8 lbs. per horse-power. These engines on the machine have developed an actual force of not less than 300 horse-power. This is a practical and indisputably valuable advance in *aérodynamics*. It would be interesting to see so light and powerful a motor applied to a "dirigeable" balloon. Though the French *aéronautical* officers have reduced the weight of their electrical motor and storage battery (originally weighing about 1173 lbs.) yet their motor developed only 85 horse-power on the shaft of the machine ; their screw, making 46 turns per minute, gave a propelling push to the machine of 132 lbs. The large machine with which Mr. Maxim has used his motor is propelled by the two light screws "which develop a push of 1900 lbs. on the machine, with a steam pressure of 300 lbs. to the square inch." Mr. Maxim asserts no such grip on the air has yet been attained.

With regard to steering, Mr. Maxim says : "I do not anticipate that this will be a very difficult matter, certainly not more so than to steer a locomotive torpedo completely submerged in the water." This is, perhaps, enthusiastic ; there is no account of the difference resulting from the different density of the media.

Notes on Social Science.

Political Economy Notes.—The new work published in May last by the well-known Professor of Political Economy at the Catholic University of Paris, M. Claudio Jannet, is deserving of great attention. It is entitled “Le Capital, la Spéculation, et la Finance au XIX^e Siècle”; and, penetrating into regions of which the public has but a very obscure knowledge, and is bewildered by the difficulties of technical terms, this book carries order and light, and enables us to arrange our ideas, and judge whether we should blow the trumpet of praise and pay honour to the marvellous mechanism of modern finance and world-wide commerce, or should raise a war cry against gambling and jobbery, against syndicates, trusts, monopolies, against the miserable servitude of individuals and of nations to a Jewish plutocracy.

The first thing to learn is the old maxim—*bene judicat qui bene distinguit*. The operations of modern commerce and finance are multiform, varying from admirable contrivances, such as the clearing houses in London for cheques and railway accounts, or the system of credit by which the vast French indemnity was paid without disturbing industry, simply by drawing bills of exchange and transferring securities, varying from such transactions to others less certainly beneficial, and descending till we reach the extremities of mischief and fraud, such as many of the public loans fondly thought to be *pro bono publico* in Turkey, Egypt, Roumania, Portugal, Mexico, and South America; or such as the wholesale bribery of the Press to beguile a foolish public into wasting their savings in profitless undertakings. In England the leading political journals, as M. Jannet well points out (p. 383), are less implicated in such roguery. Let us hear, then, how they manage these things in France:

When the Financial Insurance Company, in March 1888, offered 100,000 shares to the public at ten pounds a share, an agreement was made between M. Boulan (the promoter) and M. Xau, a gentleman of the Press, fixing at £114,000, that is at nearly 1s. 3d. a share, or over 11 per cent., the sum to be paid for Press expenses, Parisian and provincial. . . . Sometimes, it has been wittily said, those journals are most eager in this lucrative traffic whose *spécialité* is to denounce the plunderers of the people. . . . And it is very serious when establishments closely connected with the Government have recourse to these manœuvres. Thus the manager of the *Crédit Foncier* wrote with cynical frankness: “I am the manager of a great financial establishment; I require to have

public opinion made favourable to me, and for that requirement I pay" (p. 171).

He was, in fact, paying at the rate of about £80,000 a year to newspapers for their praise, as the case might be, or for their silence. And at Berlin and Vienna precisely the same phenomenon can be observed. Of a similar character is the frequent practice of spreading false news at a Stock Exchange, a practice which, to use M. Jannet's phrase, converts speculation into theft (p. 375). He also points out how the great financial magnates have no need of this vulgar dishonesty, knowing beforehand important political events, because States in debt are obliged to make use of their help; and this previous knowledge gives them from time to time complete control of the market (p. 379). Besides, apart from any political changes, the great speculators, by uniting in secret syndicates, can by their concerted buying or selling raise or depress artificially the price of any security, and make a profit accordingly. These are the great parasites; but it is questionable whether they do more harm than the swarms of small parasites, the outside brokers and the agencies known as "bucket-shops," by whom unnumbered victims are tempted to become speculators, to "operate," as the phrase is, on the Stock Exchange, the issue of such operations being not seldom the workhouse, the gaol, or the lunatic asylum. The methods of both these kinds of parasites are well explained by our author (pp. 379-388). And in his admirable chapter on public borrowing he shows how nations, and not merely individuals, are exposed to the ravages of usury:

Backward countries that are compelled to borrow in the great financial markets, and that are not in a position to take advantage of competition among bankers are "exploited" in a way that reminds us of the monetary tyranny exercised in the Middle Ages by the Italian and Hanseatic merchants in England, and later by the Genoese in the kingdom of Naples. The Egyptian, Turkish, Servian, Roumanian, Peruvian, Mexican, and Brazilian Governments are in no better plight in their dealings with these financial houses of England, France, and Germany, who lend them indeed the sums they ask for, but subject to the most onerous conditions (p. 410).

Such, for example, was the contract for constructing the Servian railways at the price of 198,000 francs a kilometre, for, on the failure of the financial company that had extorted these terms, the Servian Government, by an unusual bit of good fortune, was able to get from the succeeding company a reduction of 33,000 francs a kilometre, and yet the company still make a profit! No doubt, as M. Jannet well observes, the central and local Governments of England and the United States are not dependent on any banking-house, however

great ; but this is all the more reason for us to remember the heavy domination of *la Haute Banque* elsewhere. Even the mighty German Empire is not exempt from it, and must come to terms with it. Thus in 1890 the bankers caused the failure of an attempted issue of Government stock, and the successful issue of 1891 owed its success to their co-operation, which had to be bought at the heavy price of selling the new 3 per cent. bonds, not at par, but at 84.40. And Austria, under the dominion of great Jewish financiers, is still worse off.

The mention of the Jews leads me to call especial attention to the twelfth chapter of M. Jannet's book, in which the Jewish question is treated with admirable knowledge and lucidity. He traces the growth of the great house of Rothschild, intimately united in all its branches, belonging only in name to any nationality, profiting by national rivalries, lending to both sides in a conflict ; moreover, acquiring or controlling vast industrial undertakings, such as the petroleum wells of the Caucasus and of Galicia, the Northern Railway of France, the diamond mines of South Africa ; holding all Brazil as a sort of fief ; having a voice among the directors of every national bank and great society of credit ; favouring the growth around itself of numerous Jewish banks as satellites, while the Christian houses are relegated to the third rank. And these Jewish banks have sometimes passed beyond mere operations of finance and taken part in the German *Kulturkampf* and in the persecution of the Church in France by the Freemasons. And while these things are done in the higher regions of finance and politics the poorer Christians in many regions are exposed by all the devices of fraud and usury to spoliation by the Jews, such spoliation being held, according to the perverse moral teaching of the Talmud, not merely permissible, but a duty. For all of which M. Jannet has chapter and verse, and admirably points out how history repeats itself, and how a state of things analogous to that which in the time of Louis le Débonnaire caused Agobard to write his fiery work "*De Insolentia Judæorum*," has occurred again, and given so great a success to M. Drumont's "*La France Juive*," p. 502. Only M. Jannet runs into no excess of denunciation, does not make all the Jews consistently carry out the doctrines of the Talmud, rightly praises their domestic virtues, and well recognises that there are many Christians, especially in the regions of finance, who are no better than the Jews.

Here I might leave this excellent book ; but then I should mislead my readers by committing myself to a general warranty of its teaching, when in truth there are several points on which, in the good

company of F. Lehmkuhl, F. Cathrein, the Comte de Mun, and many others, I cannot see my way to agreement. For M. Claudio Jannet still has considerable belief in the old Political Economy, and in those who are trying to execute the structural repairs to keep the jerry-built science from rumbling down, such as Professor Marshall in England, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu in France, and Böhm Bawerk in Austria. Hence the spectre of "economic laws" that we prematurely hoped had been banished to Saturn is re-invoked when needed, and re-appears as a check to social reform. For M. Jannet, misled by the writers just named, and by others, notably by Mr. Giffen and the *Economist*, seems to fall into the old economic doctrines—optimism and *laissez-faire*. Thus he adopts the view of Leroy-Beaulieu that the fall of the rate of interest is a great benefit to the working classes, when really between their welfare and that rate there is no necessary connection; he treats the undoubted improvement of the material comfort of many of the working classes in England during the last forty years as though it was part of a general progression due to economic laws, when, in fact, it is but a recovery from a dreadful depression, and a recovery due mainly to legislation and combination; he uses the old fair phrases and arguments of the economists in favour of speculation, and seems to forget the prevalence in England and even in France of *usura vorax*, so that his ingenious defence of dealings in "futures" appears of questionable validity, or to be equally applicable to the "trusts" which he denounces; finally he gives the State anything but a free hand in preventing or punishing usury, extortionate prices, useless gambling, and reckless speculation.

But on these criticisms let me make two remarks. First, that in judging of what M. Claudio Jannet has written, we must remember that he—eminently a man of science—is confronted by many uncritical writers and speakers, who, with but a scanty knowledge of past history, of present industrial life, or of scientific principles, blindly worship the Middle Ages, denounce all Jews and all speculation without discrimination, and without discernment call for the help of the State—would almost make us show our shoes to the policeman to see that they were properly laced. It is only natural then that M. Jannet should incline a little to the other extreme.

Secondly, on the faults, such as they are, of this book, let us exclaim, *O, felix culpa!* Nothing could be better, for his testimony is thereby unsuspected and irresistible; and, standing amid the ranks of the old Economists, he is able to unveil the iniquitous ways of much of modern finance, commerce, and speculation, without being liable to be discredited by being called a Christian Socialist, or

Kathedersocialist, a sentimental Economist, a *laudator temporis acti*, or any such names. And then really, where he seems to differ from other Catholic Economists, the difference is much more in seeming than reality. For, given on the one hand the concentration of modern business, and the formation of great commercial corporations, so well explained by M. Jannet himself; given, on the other hand, his definition of genuine competition (p. 203), and his recognition that in default of such competition the State must intervene to prevent unfair prices, it follows that his principles in those matters are in real harmony with Christian tradition rather than with "the heartless and headless" teaching of the Liberal Economists. His book, then, if properly understood, is a rich mine of sense and information.

Curiously enough, we can say very much the same of another valuable book, published about the same time as M. Jannet's, by Professor Bastable, of Trinity College, and called "Public Finance." It fills up a great gap in modern English economic literature, giving us a clear view of public expenditure and public revenue, the whole theory of taxation and public debts, all copiously illustrated from actual practice, and based on a knowledge of almost innumerable works in German, French, and Italian. But his learning has not overpowered him, and he makes the way easy for his readers by his simple, lucid style, and by always keeping strictly to the point. But, chiefly in three directions, he is open to criticism. First, he is somewhat optimistic about the superiority of modern times, and fails to appreciate the financial conditions of antiquity, of the Middle Ages, and of lightly taxed China; he is optimistic again on the condition of India and Italy, and, above all, on the general character of modern public borrowing outside the English-speaking world. On this point the information in M. Jannet's book on the dominion of *la haute banque* would be a most useful supplement to Prof. Bastable's treatment of public indebtedness. Secondly, his official view of "sovereignty" and the State is that of Bentham and Austin, though, fortunately, he is not their consistent follower. Thirdly, he appears officially as the disciple and continuator of the financial teaching of Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Mill; indeed, we find in his pages the assumption of free competition and an ascertainable rate of profit. But then, like M. Jannet, having made his bow, or even shaken hands with the "orthodox" economists, he proceeds ruthlessly to play the part of the candid friend, and to show how in fact their confident conclusions were all wrong. See, for example, his admirable discussion on the "incidence" of taxation—that is, on the question of who really and ultimately pays each particular impost. Amid much else of great

value in this volume, I would call particular attention to the way in which the author keeps local expenditure and local taxation constantly in view, and not merely imperial; also to his recognition (bk. ii. ch. iii.) of the importance and the complications of the question of railways, and the action of the State in their regard; and to his calm and instructive discussion of the two hotly debated questions of progressive taxation and of taxing the "unearned increment" (bk. iii. ch. iii.). Listen, for example, to one point in the discussion on progressive taxation:

The deduction of £10 from A.'s income of £100 and of £10,000 from B.'s of £100,000 will, it is maintained, inflict greater suffering on A. than on B. Such is the assumption of the upholders of progression, and their view accords with popular sentiment. There is, nevertheless, room for doubt. Is it really certain that A., whose income is reduced from £100 to £90, is worse treated than B., whose £100,000 is brought down to £90,000? There can be no dispute as to the wants which the latter will have to leave unsatisfied being very much slighter than those of A., *when looked at from the same point of view*. But the point of view is not the same. B.'s system of life on its material side is so differently constituted from A.'s that any comparison of the kind is absurd. £10 from A.'s income may mean the loss of a certain amount of alcoholic drinks; B., by having to give up £10,000, may lose the chance of purchasing an estate, or may have to abandon some social scheme that he could otherwise have carried out. The economic calculus is not at present competent to deal with such comparisons. The complexity of the problem is admittedly great, and not to be solved by simple methods (p. 289-290).

Perhaps some may complain that Professor Bastable is inconsistent and eclectic in his principles. But such an attitude among thinking men is reasonable in a period of transition, and to expect the professors of political economy to leap nimbly right across the gulf that separates their former intellectual standpoint from the ancient view of economics as a branch of ethics, is to expect impossibilities. All the same, that ancient and Aristotelian view is the true one; and the need of it, of frankly recognising it, and of adapting to it our economic phraseology, is evident from the curious triangular duel that has been fought by Professor Marshall, Dr. Cunningham, and Mr. Ritchie in the *Economic Journal* of September, the *Academy* of 1st October, and the *Economic Review* of July and October. The points in dispute are the proper uses and study of history, and the very nature of economic science and its method. The two latter disputants seem in substantial agreement; but had they fully taken up the standpoint of traditional Christian Ethics, and the character of Economics as a department of it, they would not have misunderstood or misled each other, and would have been able (reverting to our metaphor) to shoot at Professor Marshall with more effect, and

send their bullets more completely through his caricature of history, his materialistic calculations, and his imaginary economic laws.

A word in conclusion on certain points in those two economic quarterlies just mentioned. Let any one compare the actual condition of the weavers at Bradford, so well described by Mr. Firth in the *Economic Journal* for September, with what Dr. Cunningham tells us (*Ibid.* pp. 505–506) of the easy life and much play of the artisans in the eighteenth century, and he will hardly be ready to admit the alleged “tendency to a lesser inequality of conditions,” which M. Leroy-Beaulieu wants us to believe, and which, like so many other grand economic laws, is true in the Pickwickian sense, and no other. And, again, looking at real life, let us read the two excellent papers on popular co-operative banks in the *Economic Review* for July and October. These most useful institutions—to which, let me add, M. Claudio Jannet has often called attention, and once again in the work mentioned above—are a godsend to small artisans and traders, and above all to peasants; and the good they have done, first in Germany, then in Italy, and still more recently in France, makes us long to see them in Great Britain and still more in Ireland, where rural credit has hitherto been more of a bane to the peasantry than a blessing.

CHARLES S. DEVAS.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Present State of the Sudan.—Father Ohrwalder's narrative of his Ten Years' Captivity in the Camp of the Mahdi has a special value, in addition to its historical and personal interest, as the most authentic account of the condition of the lost provinces of Egypt under the savage rule to which they have been abandoned. Throughout Kordofan the utmost misery prevailed, and its once thriving capital El Obeid, devastated by war, pestilence, and famine, was, when Father Ohrwalder finally left it in March 1886, reduced to the condition of a dirty Arab village, consisting of only a few mud cabins. Of the Mission-house not a trace remained, and the lucrative trade in gum and ostrich feathers was totally annihilated. Bara, situated in a sort of oasis, or depression in the desert, where abundance of water is found six feet below the surface, had been totally destroyed, and a heap of white ruins, overgrown with thorny jungle,

were all that was left of the luxurious summer quarters of the wealthy merchants of El Obeid, who had surrounded them with lovely gardens of date-palms, lemons, and bananas. Here Zogal, the Mahdist Governor of Darfur, had made his camp, and the missionary gazed with wonder on his wild Bazingers or Central African troops. These swarthy warriors in many cases wore no clothing save the leather bandolier, or cartridge case, and a large leather wallet, from which occasionally a human leg might be seen protruding, for they are cannibals to a man. The approach to Khartoum was signalled by the bleached skeletons of men and animals, marking the scene of conflict round the former fort of Omdurman. Here, where previous to the revolt there had been but a few huts scattered through the thorny scrub round its valuable limestone quarries, there was seen a countless multitude of *tokuls*, or straw huts, surrounded by zaribas, those inhabited by the Khalifas and Emirs being distinguished only by their superior size. The market was a scene of confusion, and the merchants never left their goods there during the night, but carried them away to their own houses. Trade nevertheless was brisk, and the crowd so great that it was difficult to penetrate it. A Greek had established a bakery, and there were quantities of provisions for sale. The Greeks, Jews, and Syrians residing there were doing fairly well in business, and the only tax levied was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *zekka*, or alms for the poor. The *beit el mal*, or treasury, is the only organised office of administration, which under the direction of one Adlan, ex-merchant of El Obeid, was installed in a brick-walled yard on the banks of the Nile. Here was stored a mountain of dhurra or native corn, so high that it could be seen from a considerable distance, and there were separate enclosures for cattle and slaves, periodically sold by auction. The mint was located in the same premises, and silver dollars were coined at a profit to the superintendent of 50 per cent. Foreign coins were also current, and among them the English sovereign, known as *Khayala* (cavalry) coins, from the St. George and Dragon stamped on them. The coinage of the original Mahdi had then disappeared from circulation. Small coin being very scarce, pieces of *damur*, native twilled cloth, valued at 10, 5, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ piastres, were made currency, but they quickly became so dirty and saturated with grease in passing from hand to hand that every device was used to evade their acceptance, and they had eventually to be withdrawn from circulation. The silver dollar on one occasion having become depreciated, the Khalifa Abdullah, incensed against the merchants, sent his troops to the market to bring in all the goods there to the treasury with the following curious declaration: "That unbe-

liever, Gordon, induced merchants to accept miserable bits of paper as equivalents for money, and now I offer you silver, and you won't even take it." His measures for restoring public credit were so efficacious that the merchants declared themselves ready to accept his coinage, though it were stamped on leather. The administration of justice was entrusted to an official called the Kadi el Islam, assisted by a number of associate judges, while the supreme power of life and death was virtually in the Khalifa's hands. Khartoum itself, which after its capture had been divided between the principal Emirs when it became a scene of great riot and festivity, was at this time a mass of ruins. Its destruction was the work of the Khalifa Abdullah, who, jealous of the power of the *Ashraf*, or relations of the Mahdi, established there in a position of quasi-independence, ordered its evacuation in August 1886.

The command [says Father Ohrwalder] was given to all to quit the town within three days; it was carried out at once, and on the fourth day the destruction of Khartoum began. Houses were pulled down, the wood of the windows, balconies, and doors was transported to Omdurman, and within a very short time the whole place was in ruins. The burnt bricks were for the most part brought to Omdurman; the only buildings which were spared were the Arsenal, in which work still continues to be done, Gordon's palace, and the Mission-house. In fact, Khartoum is now nothing but a heap of mud ruins; here and there a wall is left standing, everywhere large prickly thorn bushes have sprung up, and cover as with a veil the sad remnants of the once thriving and populous capital of the Sudan.

The inhabitants of the provinces are subjected to intolerable oppression, as the right of collecting taxes is farmed out at an exorbitant rate, for which the lessees have of course to recoup themselves at the expense of the population. Confiscation, too, is a common administrative weapon, and half the land of the inhabitants of the Gezirah, or district between the Blue and White Nile, was conferred wholesale on the Baggara Arabs, who are favoured by the Khalifa at the expense of the remaining population.

Progress in Mashonaland.—The directors of the British South Africa Company have published a report showing the Company's balance-sheet up to March, 1892, and affording evidence of the increasing interest taken by the public in the concern, in the fact that the shareholders now number nearly 8000, almost double the number of last year. The direct revenue obtained during the first eight months of 1892 averaged £2250 a month, which rose to £2400 in the ensuing quarter. Derived at present from stand rents, licences for trade and prospecting, stamps, posts, and telegraphs, it will be supplemented in future by the proceeds of the sale of lands,

rents of farms, and other sources of profit. The expenses of salaries to the present administrative staff and to the police amount to about £2000 a month, so that income already more than balances expenditure, apart from that incurred for works of permanent improvement. The telegraph, completed to Fort Salisbury, a distance of 800 miles from Mafeking, or 1700 from Cape Town, chiefly over very rough country, brings in a net revenue of £4000, or 4 per cent. on the capital invested, after paying all costs of salaries and maintenance. The Company has since last August entered the Postal Union of South Africa, and has established an excellent weekly service for the despatch of mails and passengers to all parts of Mashonaland. The reduction in the police force still continues, and it has been converted from a *quasi*-military into a purely civil body, numbering some forty white men and thirty-five natives. The northerly extension of the railway from Vryburg to Mafeking will shortly be commenced, and its construction will entitle the Company to 8000 square miles, or 5,000,000 acres of land in the Crown colony of British Bechuanaland, which is over one-third of the area of the entire colony. A Company, in which the South Africa Company holds a considerable interest without liability, has been formed to construct a railway from Beira, on the east coast, to the British sphere, which will obviate the heavy transport cost of £70 per ton, which has hitherto handicapped the gold-mining industry. Prospecting for gold, notwithstanding this disadvantage, has already resulted in the registration of over 15,000 claims, indicating that an extent of over 400 miles has been found to be productive of the precious metal. Other minerals, among which are silver, plumbago, copper, lead, iron, and nitrate of potash, have also been discovered during the past year; the agricultural development of the resources of the country is also steadily proceeding, and under the superintendence of Mr. Selous an excellent road has been constructed for a distance of seventy-three miles from Umtali to Chimoio, the terminus of the first section of the Beira Railway. Townships have been declared at Salisbury, Victoria, and Umtali, and a sale of 264 building lots last July realised nearly £10,000. North of the Zambesi the further development of the already flourishing settlement of Nyassaland will be accelerated by the step at last taken by the Imperial Government in placing two gunboats on Lake Nyassa and a steam launch on the Upper Shiré, by which the raids of the slave traders will be suppressed.

Previous Work of the Company.—A separate report has been published, giving a detailed history of the Company and its work.

since its incorporation in 1889. It claims to have added some 750,000 square miles to the area of the British Empire, and founded an important British colony, while its policy of securing the high table-land extending from the Karoo desert northwards, where a white population can thrive, and temperate as well as tropical produce be grown, will render it an outlet for the overstocked labour market at home. This plateau, extending not only from the Transvaal northward, through the Mashona and Matabele countries to the valley of the Zambesi, but beyond that river to the boundary of the Congo Free State, is constantly referred to in Livingstone's writings as a species of sanatorium, reinvigorating his party after the miasmatic atmosphere of the unhealthy lowlands. This tract, the whole of which is now held by the Company under treaties with the native chiefs, will eventually support a large white population, and there are already 3000 white men settled on that portion which lies south of the Zambesi. Land and mineral concessions have been secured from Lobengula, the Matabele chief; from Gungunhana, who claims to divide with him all the territory between the Transvaal and the Zambesi; from the Barotse ruler, whose territory extends from the valley of that river to the Portuguese province of Angola, over an area of 225,000 square miles, and from nearly all the chiefs between his dominion and the settlements in Nyassaland. The African Lakes Company, and the missionaries in this last-named region, will also have their position improved and their security assured by the extension of British territory to the southward. Accommodation for travellers is provided by several hotels in Tuli, Victoria, and Salisbury, as well as in the posting stations and halting-places on the roads connecting those points. Missionaries of various denominations, Catholics, Anglicans, Wesleyans, with representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Salvation Army, are already established in Mashonaland. The Jesuits, the first in the field, are about to establish a school and a permanent agricultural mission, probably near Victoria, and the Church of England has created a Bishopric of Mashonaland, with Dr. Knight Bruce as its Bishop.

Position of British Bechuanaland.—While Her Majesty's High Commissioner still retains a nominal supremacy over all British South Africa south of the Zambesi, with the exception of Natal, the direct administration of the Crown is exercised only in British Bechuanaland. As the Imperial Government is compelled to expend about £100,000 a year on the maintenance of its rule in the Crown Colony, while the Chartered Company administers

its territories free of cost, the home authorities are tempted by the desire of economy to accept the Company's offer of taking over the whole of the Protectorate. They would undertake to administer British Bechuanaland on the same terms they have been granted by Lobengula in Matabeleland, and would carry out the construction of railways and other beneficial works. They would thus acquire valuable rights in Khame's country, far into which the Tati gold reefs are believed to extend, and would round off their vast dominion by the inclusion of what is now a species of *enclave* within it. The question has to be considered, however, from the native point of view, and it is believed that they generally prefer the jurisdiction of the Crown to that of any private company. Imperial supremacy would indeed still be maintained by the nominal authority of the High Commissioner, who would always retain a veto over the acts of the Company, and would undoubtedly exercise it in case of abuse of the rights of natives.

The Sources of the Juba.—Two Italian expeditions have started to explore the upper course of the Juba, which bounds Somali Land and debouches south of the equator. A party led by Captains Bottego and Grisoni had, on October 6th, reached a point 300 kilometres from the coast, and were advancing into the interior; while Prince Ruspoli is also negotiating for a passage with some of the tribes of the littoral, having experienced great difficulties in attempting to pass through French territory.

Dr. Nansen's Proposed Expedition.—Dr. Frithiof Nansen laid before the Royal Geographical Society, on the evening of Nov. 14, his adventurous project for crossing the North Pole, by trusting for transport to the ice itself, in a region where he reckons on its being carried forward by a Polar current. His argument for its existence is based on the fact that a very large quantity of water is swept southward from the Arctic Sea by well-known currents, that between Greenland and Spitzbergen alone propelling a volume of from 80 to 120 cubic miles of water every twenty-four hours, and that this out-flow must be counteracted by a corresponding indraught, which will be found north of the Asiatic mainland. The statement that some of the wreckage of the *Jeannette*, lost in this part of the ocean in 1881, was carried on a piece of floating ice to Julianehaab on the coast of Greenland three years later, would be strong evidence in favour of this presumption, if those relics had ever been satisfactorily identified, which, however, is open to doubt. Dr. Nansen proposes to go in search of this current, starting in the spring of 1893, passing

through the Kara Sea, and waiting for the most favourable time, probably in August or September, for reaching the most northerly point attainable in open water somewhere in the neighbourhood of the New Siberian Islands. There he cheerfully looks forward to wedging his ship in the heavy pack ice, and to sharing its drift into unknown and uninhabitable solitudes. The ship specially designed for this singular voyage, and christened the *Fram*, or *Forward*, has been already launched, and is being provisioned and equipped for a possible absence of five years. Rigged as a three-masted schooner, she will have an engine of 160 horse-power, and will be of 380 tons burthen, or about the size of Lady Brassey's *Sunbeam*. Her construction, with great beam and very rounded section, is intended to give as little grip to the ice as possible, while her comparative flat bottom, and slight projection of keel, will enable her to rest at a slight angle on the floe if lifted by it, instead of capsizing as a vessel of very sloping bilge would do. She will carry two large boats, which being roomy and fully decked, will afford a refuge to the crew in case of the destruction of the ship. The danger of such a catastrophe will indeed be ever imminent, as any one must realise who has read the account of the experiences of the crew of the *Tegetthoff*, similarly imprisoned for a year in the pack in these very seas. The daily and almost hourly alarms to which they were exposed from "ice-pressure," the most formidable incident of Arctic navigation, are vividly described in Lieutenant Payer's narrative of her voyage. The floe is on these occasions convulsed by violent agitation, due, it is supposed, to contraction under the influence of increased cold, when it heaves and grinds together, yawning in fissures, where it previously showed a solid floor, and in other places jamming together, with a force which uplifts its surface in steep and broken ridges of ice. Sometimes a detached berg drives crashing through it, cleaving it as a great steamship does the liquid ocean, and dashing the shattered blocks of ice on either hand, as she casts the spray from her bow. The stoutest hull of wood or iron is liable to be crushed like an egg-shell by the shock of the colliding masses, or to be uplifted bodily by their impact, and deposited on the frozen surface. Yet it is in this treacherous and unstable floating-dock that Dr. Nansen seeks a berth for his ship—not for one, but for several Arctic winters. His well-wishers all over the world earnestly hope for his safe deliverance from its rude clutches.

Exploration in the Hindu Kush.—A remarkable mountaineering journey has been made by Mr. Conway, who, starting from Askoley, in the territory of Kashmir, on July 31, 1892, reached,

after a four days' march, the Baltoro Glacier, stretching eastward to the Karakorum range. Four days more over the ice brought them to the foot of a peak north of it 20,000 feet high, which was ascended, and named Crystal Peak. Disappointed in the expectation of getting a view thence of the great summit, "K 2," the giant of those ranges, the party returned to the glacier, and, after another day's march over it, climbed a pass further east 18,000 feet high, from which a sight was obtained of the mighty colossus, all the surroundings of which were found to be incorrectly given on the map. The Baltoro Glacier also proved to be much longer than it was there represented, and headed by a high peak, which is totally omitted, and which Mr. Conway named the "Golden Throne." He determined to attempt its ascent, and after being stopped for a time by a snowstorm on the glacier, reached its foot on August 18, and thence worked upwards, climbing for 2000 feet over a very broken icefall. It took four days to establish and victual a camp at the top of this ascent, at a height of 18,000 feet, whence they moved, on two subsequent days, to the higher altitudes of 19,000 and 20,000 feet. On the 25th they reached a point over 23,000 feet high, but found themselves there cut off from the true summit, which still towered 2000 feet above them. Pioneer Peak, as they named the one reached, commanded a splendid view, especially towards the Hunza country, where they could see to a distance of 200 miles. They suffered from the high air, but not severely, and slept that night at the camp, 20,000 feet high, without serious inconvenience. Bad weather and the exhaustion of their provisions compelled them to descend, and put a stop to further explorations. Mr. Conway believes that the comparison of his barometer will show that he attained a height beyond Schlagentweit's 22,230 feet in Nepal, previously unequalled.—*Times'* Calcutta correspondent, September 26, 1892.

The Siberian Lepers.—Miss Marsden, whose philanthropic labours among the Siberian lepers have made the existence of those outcasts known to external humanity, delivered an address on the subject of her wanderings to a drawing-room meeting, held, by permission of Lady Jeune, at 79 Harley Street. Her experience as a nurse during the Russo-Turkish war first attracted her attention to the subject, as she then saw two people thus afflicted. While in Constantinople she was told that a herb which cured leprosy grew in Siberia, and she set out in search of it on an expedition which included a journey on horseback of 2000 miles, and 14,000 miles of travelling by sledge and tarantass. She gave a vivid description of the hardships undergone in crossing the great rivers during the

breaking up of the ice, and of the suffering from cold in a temperature sometimes of thirty or forty degrees of frost. Although the object of her journey was only partially attained, since the herb she was in search of was found only to alleviate instead of curing leprosy, it was incidentally the means of attracting attention to the pitiable state of the Siberian lepers, who had been vainly imploring assistance for sixty-four years. Some Russian ladies and nuns of the Greek Church are now going out to attend them, and a hospital is to be founded, for which funds are being collected both in Russia and here. To the same object the profits on the sale of Miss Marsden's book are to be applied, and she is going to deliver a course of lectures in America, the proceeds of which are to be utilised in similar fashion. She spoke with gratitude of the kindness she had experienced from the Russian authorities and people in general, as well as from the representatives of the Catholic and Greek Churches.

King Menelik and his Court.—The *Corriere Eritreo*, published in Massowah, gives some interesting details, in its issue of November 6, of the life and surroundings of the present Negus of Abyssinia. He has now in his service a Swiss engineer, M. Alfred Illg, with two companions, Zimmerman and Appenzeller, who, on their arrival in Antoto some years ago, persuaded him to abandon his straw hut, and have a house built on the European plan. So eager was he in adopting the suggestion that he himself took part in the work, setting an example to his subjects by hewing stones and handling the saw and trowel. The training of the natives in the art of construction was a labour of time, but they are now expert masons and carpenters, while his Abyssinian Majesty has developed a veritable building mania, ordering the erection of a new house every two or three years. The rooms inhabited by the king open into an inner court, to which only his privileged friends have access, and from which he passes into a larger hall of audience, with entrances from without. Seated on a throne under a canopy, Menelik receives reports from generals and governors, and petitions from his humbler subjects. The public treasury, containing the property of the State in metal or kind, is situated in a separate building, while another contains the private treasure of the king, in gold, silver, musk, and ivory. The royal chapel comes next, and farther still a vast array of bakeries and breweries for the concoction of beer and hydromel. The scale of these offices may be judged from the fact that the Court gives daily rations of food and drink to an average of 1200 people, without counting invited guests, who sometimes number 3000, while on great occasions the royal kitchens may have to feed as many as 20,000.

A large church is contained within the precincts of the palace, in addition to the Court Chapel, and the Abuna, or Metropolitan, has his residence close by.

All affairs of State are transacted immediately by the Ethiopian monarch, who has, in the European sense, no Ministers, and has at his Court no representatives of foreign Powers. The highest official is the Grand Secretary, who brings the king from fifty to sixty letters a day, and receives *viva voce* instructions as to the answers. A still more influential post is that of the *Asasch*, or Lord Chamberlain, who can permit or refuse access to the royal presence even to the grantees of the kingdom, and whose good offices are consequently much in request. The *Agafari*, or Master of Ceremonies, has a similar, though inferior, post. On the two *Asalafi*, Butler and Cupbearer, devolves the duty of tasting the royal viands, while the "friends of the king," to whom the palace doors are open, have also an official at their head.

Court etiquette is very minute in its regulations, and prescribes, among other usages distasteful to Europeans, that of kissing the ground on approaching the royal presence. From this prostration the Swiss engineers were exempted on their remonstrating against its observance.

Menelik has a capacious memory, and is gifted with unwearying energy, which enables him to fulfil his multifarious duties. Rising at three he devotes the first hour to prayer, reciting the psalms of David (from whom he claims descent), and repeating the so-called royal prayer for the happiness of his subjects. From four to six he works with the Grand Secretary, at eight receives his friends in private audience, and later the public functionaries and nobles in the general reception-room, breakfasts at ten, after eleven holds a council, and regulates affairs of state. Then, issuing from his palace, he receives and listens to petitions from all who desire to approach him, and in the afternoon administers justice in public, sitting on a throne under a tree with all his Court in attendance, while thousands of bystanders flock round. As every Abyssinian is a born orator the causes are argued by the parties at considerable length, and couriers and messengers are received when they are over, the king retiring to supper only when none remain to be heard.

Missionary Progress in Fiji.—*Illustrated Catholic Missions* for December 1892, gives details of the Catholic missionary work in the Fiji archipelago, according to the reports for that year. Bishop Vidal, the Vicar-Apostolic, had then working under him 17 Marist missionaries, with catechists and lay brothers, and 13 nuns, Sisters of the

Third Order of Marists, and of St. Joseph of Cluny. There were 90 Christian communities, 65 churches and chapels, several schools, and 6 boarding-schools for girls. The Catholic population then numbered a little over 10,000 out of a total of 150,000, but later reports announce the conversion of two entire tribes, one of 2000 and the other of 1000 souls.

Colonial Year Book for 1892 gives the following particulars of the inhabitants of Fiji:

It is not possible to collect any facts with regard to their history except those of modern times. The natives have no traditions which would lead to the belief that they have taken possession of the archipelago during any recent period, nor is there any clue to the date of their arrival in these islands, which they would therefore appear to have occupied from remote ages. They are an interesting people to the anthropologist, as they seem to combine the types of Asiatic and African races in a manner which leaves no doubt, especially when accompanied by the unerring evidence of language, that a union of both races has taken place. They are decidedly an inferior race to the Tongans or Samoans, and their woolly and frizzy hair, flat and broad noses, and somewhat protruding lips, point unmistakably to the infusion of African blood. They are usually of a dark copper colour, muscular and well-built. They are not fond of work, and it takes a great deal of tact to make them act as labourers on the various plantations which are now springing up. The Fijian is said to work by fits and starts, and either overdoes or does not do enough; constant daily labour is what he does not like. On the other hand, he is not an habitual idler, and the man who does not attend to the affairs of his family and those of his tribe has not much respect shown him by his fellows.

The *tabu* and many other ancient superstitions are still in force among them, and the influence of the old priestly order is even yet a power in the islands.

E. M. C.

Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

GERMANY.

BY CANON BELLESHEIM, OF AACHEN.

“**Katholik.**”—In the September and October numbers of this periodical, Canon Stöckl, of Eichstätt, follows up his thoughtful articles on the alleged antagonism between Religion and Science, forcibly refuting the arguments brought forth especially by the father of Positivism, Auguste Comte. I avail myself of this opportunity to draw the attention of scholars and students of philosophy to the fact that the Rev. Canon has just brought out the seventh edition of his famous “Text-Book of Philosophy” in three volumes

(Mainz, Kirchheim, 1892). For clearness of language in dealing with the most intricate questions of metaphysics, aptness of arrangement, and accuracy of doctrine, it is held to surpass any other text-book in this department in Catholic Germany. In the September issue I referred to the labours of the English Jesuits in rendering their countrymen better acquainted with the philosophy of St. Thomas, by the publication of the Stonyhurst series of text-books. Abbé Paulus, in Munich, in his clever article, "Michael Buchinger," has done much to restore to his true place one of our best champions at the Reformation period, whose memory had been all but totally obliterated. In the October number appears an appropriate article on Columbus. Fr. Zimmerman deals with the quaint Dean of Chichester, Dr. Burgon. Another article is devoted to the recent historical studies undertaken on behalf of the Prussian Government by several promising scholars. One volume, published by Walter Friedensberg, contains the despatches of Pietro Paolo Vergerio, who acted as Nuncio in Germany, A.D. 1533 to 1536; whilst a second volume is occupied with the despatches of Giovanni Morone, the youthful but learned and zealous Archbishop of Modena, who played a most active part as Nuncio at the Court of King Ferdinand, brother of Charles V. These documents constitute an important item in forming an accurate estimate of the religious condition of Germany and the leading men whose hands shaped the destinies of our people. There is also a literary notice on "*Provinciale Ordinis fratrum minorum vetustissimum secundum codic. Vatican. 1690*," as edited by Fr. Eubel, Penitentiary of St. Peter's, Rome. It dates from 1343, and has been more than once published before, but very inaccurately. Fr. Eubel has employed his critical talent in providing us with a most accurate text, notwithstanding mistakes as to a few names of persons and places in Ireland. Fr. Finlay's pamphlet on Hypnotism, as translated into German, receives high eulogy from Dr. Fischer.

Historisch-politische Blätter.—In the September issue Fr. Zimmermann, of Ditton Hall, describes the efforts made by the late Cardinal Manning towards alleviating the condition of the poor, and compares him to other social reformers, such as Carlyle, Ruskin, and Kingsley. Several articles enlarge on the disastrous influence Louis XIV. exerted on the morality of his period. Another contribution deals with the condition of Ireland, and censures the policy of Mr. Gladstone. Next we have a dissertation on Michael Vehe, a learned Dominican, who flourished at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and who is singled out for praise as the author of the first

hymn-book for divine service in the German language. The Lounsbury's Studies in Chaucer are reviewed, and that poet described as much inferior to Shakespeare.

Stimmen aus Maria-Laach.—Father Vereiten continues his articles on Pascal, and we trust that ere long he will bring them out as a biography of the gifted but unfortunate scholar. Fr. Henry Pesch has two articles on the total failure of the principles of modern liberal economics, and the idea of justice as proposed in modern socialistic systems. Fr. Baumgartner publishes his studies on ancient Indian poetry.

Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).—In the October number the first article is one contributed by Fr. Limbourg on St. Bonaventure's doctrine concerning predestination. The result of these studies, as based on the recent excellent edition of the works of the Saint (DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1891, page 491), is to the effect that predestination is established "*post praevisa merita*." St. Anselm's opinion on the necessity of the Incarnation is exhaustively discussed by Fr. Stentrup. He maintains that it is in contradiction to the common teaching of theologians, and therefore destitute of solid foundation. The most recent investigations into the life and the works of Priscillian have furnished to Fr. Michael the subject of a learned article which gives a clear survey of the position occupied by this famous but unfortunate scholar in the history of the Church.

FRANCE.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Paris. Octobre 1892.

An Accusation against Blessed Edmund Campion, S.J.—The articles in this quarter's *Revue* are most of them up to the high standard of this magazine, as to scholarship; but are none of them occupied with subjects of any very special or actual interest. The one of which we have here placed the heading, comes nearest home to English readers, being concerned with the good name of one of our recently beatified English Martyrs. The writer, Fr. J. Forbes, S.J., states the accusation thus: The Blessed Edmund

was thrice put to the torture, and his enemies maintain that on the rack, overcome by pain, he succumbed for an instant so far as to reveal the names of some of those generous Catholics who had given him shelter at the risk of their lives; a passing weakness that is made quite intelligible to us by the hideous torture, and that moreover he washed out by his tears, and then by his blood.

"When we ask for *proofs* of this [remarks the writer] we are told that all England believed it ; that enemies and friends were alike persuaded of it, &c. ; that Lingard, having weighed the evidence, admits : 'the second time that Campion suffered torture ("employed with the utmost barbarity," to quote him in another place) he made disclosures which he deemed of no importance, but which report exaggerated and misrepresented.' " The gist of Fr. Forbes's pleading for the defence is the worthlessness of the proffered evidence.

Not one of the alleged proofs [he says] will bear examination, not one of them weakens the direct and peremptory evidence which exists demonstrating the invincible constancy of Campion. The illustrious martyr did not thus even tarnish his glory and betray the trust of his friends.

The accusation is part of a diabolical plot ; what his enemies hoped to wring from him, they pretended to have wrung, and Catholics who were brought to believe and propagate the report fell into the trap laid by Cecil and Walsingham. The incriminating evidence, the writer reduces to five heads : 1, the letter of the Lords of the Council accusing, with evident knowledge, those whose names they asserted Campion had revealed ; 2, the general persuasion of Catholics ; 3, the letter of Pound to Campion exhorting him to manly constancy, and begging him to acknowledge truly to him what it was he had revealed ; 4, the testimony of Norton, the torturer, who compared Campion with Briant, to the advantage of the latter, and that *because he had never revealed anything* ; and 5, the confession on the scaffold of the martyr himself, as heard and afterwards published by a priest ; and to these five *pièces de conviction* he replies in detail. As to the letters of the Lords of the Council, those previous to August 6 are proved to be calumnies by Cecil himself, who on that date writes to Lord Shrewsbury, that Campion under torture had refused to reply to even the most unimportant questions. As to the precise information about those who were arrested ostensibly on the strength of Campion's disclosures, some one had disclosed them, probably domestics ; but had it been Campion, Cecil would have known more than he did ; and Fr. Forbes examines the pretended avowal of Campion kept among the Lansdowne MSS., showing that it was impossible for Campion to have been, as that document asserts, at Lord Vaux's, Sir Thomas Gresham's, and Sir William Catesby's in the summer of 1580. It is shown that Campion could not have been guilty of this confession of names at the third torture late in October 1581 (Lingard's date for the second torture and the confession in October 31), as those whom he is asserted to have betrayed had all been arrested, or searched for, on his pretended confession, before August 31. At neither of the two tortures in August (as is shown) did Campion reveal names ; and

at the third torture he affirmed his innocence, at which his interrogators, as the Tower Diary shows, neither exclaimed nor rebuked him with his previous weakness, as they certainly would had they known it for fact. As to Pound's letter, neither the letter nor Campion's reply have ever been seen in their originals; and, as to Norton's comparison of the latter with Briant, the incriminating words, "because he never revealed anything," do not occur in the authentic copy. The last piece to be dealt with is the anonymous account published in 1583 (was it not in 1582?) as of an eye-witness, of Father Campion's words on the scaffold, "desiring all those to forgive him whose names he had confessed upon the rack (for upon the commissioners' oaths that no harm should come to them, he uttered some persons with whom he had been)." In the face of all the direct evidence as to Campion's innocence of this charge, the writer refuses to accept as destructive of it this assertion made without either name of author, or even printer, and without name of place where published, made, too, at a period when damning evidence thus ingeniously forged was too much the order of the day. We have been able to only touch on the conclusions of the writer, as we need hardly say.

The French Revolution.—Three articles in this number of the *Revue* are concerned, under different aspects, with the Great Revolution. The most interesting, as mere reading, is that by M. H. de Broc, entitled "Un témoin de la Révolution Française à Paris." This eye-witness is one Jean-Gabriel-Philippe Morice, who died in 1847, and who, originally a notary's clerk, passed without mishap through the Terror, as a clerk, first, in the Committee of Public Safety, and then in the Ministry of Justice, and finally as head of the Department "des Emigrés." It is not pretended that Morice's memoirs, the MS. of which has fallen into M. de Broc's hands, adds anything to the substantial history of the Great Revolution, and this is probably why apparently there is no intention of publishing it; but the extracts here given from it prove that it is the work of an intelligent observer, whose graphic pen gives some highly interesting, not to say romantic, account of incidents and persons. The second article is by M. Ernest Allain, on "L'Enquête Scolaire de l'An IX.," and goes to confirm that writer's previously published contention, by help of more recently available contemporary evidence, of the flourishing state of education under, more or less, Church influences and Catholic traditions before the Revolution. This is directly against the favourite charge of the Freethinkers against the Church. The writer, however, shows from official testimony supplied from every quarter of France to the Minister Chaptal in 1800, that the work of the

Revolution had been to too large an extent retrogressive or destructive. The article bristles with statistics from numerous Departments, and will prove of high value for reference. The third article is headed "Le Mot de l'Abbé Edgeworth," and in it M. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt defends against modern critics the authenticity of the famous "Fils de Saint Louis, montez au ciel."

A long historical sketch of the "Origins of the Paris University, and its Organisation in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," by the Abbé Feret, and another on "Jean l'Aveugle en France," by M. de Puymaigre, and briefer ones by M. Lambelin on "Metz and Marshal Bazaine," and by the Comte de Charency on "The Ancient Chronology of Mexico," conclude the October issue of the *Revue* so far as articles are concerned. The "Quarterly Chronicle," and the "Short Book Notices" are of the usual interest and value.

The **Université Catholique** (of Lyons) is a monthly which does credit to the committee of Professors in the Catholic Faculty at Lyons who edit it. We hope to draw attention to it more in detail another time; for the moment we do not notice in the late numbers since we last spoke of it anything of pressing interest to English readers.

ITALY.

Civiltà Cattolica, August 1892.

An examination of a pamphlet asking "Is the Roman Question National or International?" occupies the place of honour in the *Civiltà*, not, we presume, on account of the writer, but of the subject. It adds still another instalment to the literature that has grown up around the Temporal Power of the Pope, that thorny difficulty in the heart of Italy which has succeeded in pitting in open hostility two things that must be always precious in the eyes of an intelligent Italian—Religion and Patriotism. For generations a spirit of intense patriotism has been awakened in Italy, and a longing for the time when the charming peninsula would not be the plaything of adventurers. Filicaia sang the same sentiment two and a half centuries ago in his beautiful hymn to Italy:

Deh fosse tu men bella, o almen più forte
 Onde assai più ti paventasse, o assai
 T'amasse men chi del tuo belle ai rai
 Per che si strugge e pur ti sfida a morte!
 (All' Italia).

We notice that the same sentiment is borne witness to by the *Civiltà*. We give the quotation: "The public opinion of Italy of our day,

that is from 1848 onward, was stimulated by a fierce political fever, in no way abated even at present. Unity, international strength, independence, and the glamour and prestige that spring from them have been the objects of her most ardent hopes. It carried away our statesmen. In their career they came into conflict with the Church" (p. 293). This was obviously how it happened, but unfortunately the war was not confined to the matter at issue regarding the Temporal Power about which the present article deals. It was carried into the domain of education, a matter dealt with in the following article, from which we have culled the quotation already given—"Christianity excluded from Public Teaching in Italy." To meet the evil the *Civiltà* proposes three remedies: (a) Reconciliation of Italy with the Pope. Dealing with this point, he asks: "Then ought Italy bid good-bye to her unity for the good of the Church? For the good of the kingdom of God the kingdom of Italy ought to give up her unity. There is the naked truth. Our country has not merely rights, but duties. Our country has this great duty towards the kingdom of God—to give to this great kingdom of God its ancient capital, and to restore what it legitimately possesses. But is it not a pity to divide once more our united country? Certainly; but duty is not pleasure. Fulfilling a duty (although it is a source of benefits that more than pay for it) is an act which shows great moral strength, honourable sentiments, and wins prestige. A soldier's wound is not a pleasant thing, but all the same it brings honour" (pp. 295, 296). The next remedy (b) is *liberty of teaching*, and is directed against the State monopoly; while (c) the third remedy is the opening of *schools of religion*, where (political questions aside) Young Italy would be thoroughly grounded in Christianity. Trusting more in moral forces, and the ultimate triumph of justice and truth, we regret all the more that legal Italy violates so many natural laws bearing on the personal rights of her citizens, and the claims of the parents to the religious education of their children. As yet Protestant England admits the latter, and it will be a day of serious trouble when it fails to be recognised.

Oligarchic Government in France (September 3) is an interesting study, and gives an extraordinary view of the representative value of the Senate and Chamber of France—the land of democracy and other charming things that are good to shout about, but obviously not realised.

There are 9,500,000 voters in France and 576 deputies, or one deputy for every 16,500 voters. On these lines every body of 25,000 voters would be entitled to a deputy and a half. The Masons in France

tot up to 25,000. Hence the four Masonic Confederations in France would be entitled to one, or at most to two, deputies. Instead, they have between 150 and 160. This fact is well authenticated by the catalogues and journals of the Freemasons. Let us take the lower figure, and take it that they have 150 deputies. What follows? That 9,500,000 have 425 deputies as their representatives, while 25,000 Freemasons have 150. Divide 9,500,000 by 426 and you have 22,000 voters: divide 25,000 by 150 and you have revealed the extraordinary fact that each 160 Freemason votes has a deputy (p. 531).

In other words, 160 Masonic votes produce the same result in the Chamber as 22,000 votes belonging to those not enrolled in any lodge. "The Freemasons are therefore 136 times more favoured than any other class of Frenchmen; and these 25,000 accumulate in privileges the sum total of what is the right of 3,300,000 voters. (*l.c.*) This is oligarchical with a vengeance.

Evolution and Energy, &c., deals with Sig. Negri's address at the opening of the New Museum of Natural History in Milan, entitled "Natural Science and Modern Thought." It affords another specimen of the sad leaven of Rationalism which characterises higher studies in Italian Universities. "The Church and France" is on the lines of the various recent pronouncements of Leo XIII.; while an interest attaches to this number of "The Migrations of the Hittites," as it was sent to the recent Oriental Congress held in London last September. "Patriotism in Italy" is an article with a history. A Catholic society, the Romanina, went in procession to crown the bust of Columbus on the Pincian Hill. The Chief Constable was duly acquainted beforehand, and thus the Romanina had a legal right to go in public procession. The result was a savage display of intolerance and violence on the part of the *sans culottes*, and the triumph of the worse than stupid incompetence of the police. The Jewish papers denounced the Catholics as unpatriotic; but the lion whisks his tail.

The beauty of the thing is that Italian Catholics are put outside the pale of the constitution by a band of Jews, who intrude themselves into every city in Italy, from the Alps to the Istrian shores. A race of men without fatherland, without a name, the most vagabond and wandering outcasts on the face of God's earth—these are the people who can tell us all about our country and how to love it (p. 521).

Discussing further on the difference between the *patria* and the constitution (*stato*) the following will be read with interest as indicating how our public questions are understood in the peninsula:

Look at what happens in England regarding Home Rule in Ireland.

According to the monopolist of patriotism in Italy, to ask for the Pope in Italy something akin to Home Rule would be a horrible sacrilege—the dismemberment of the *patria*, parricide, assassination of Italy, and even worse if you like. All the same, in a land famous for the freedom it enjoys, a famous statesman, who is the Nestor of Liberalism, is backed up by a majority of the electorate and is considered to be doing a good thing for England when he proposes Home Rule for Ireland. If the Union of England is not in the opinion of English statesmen violated by the Irish Home Rule Bill, how is Italian unity jeopardised when Home Rule is asked for Rome for the good of Italy and of the Catholic world? Irish Home Rule involves autonomy, with a parliament of her own, a cabinet, an exchequer, and the administration of the country. Your Briton, the most patriotic-minded man of you all, holds that in granting all these there is no violation of England's unity. Give the Pope something similar, and you say Italy is dismembered. It would *not* separate Rome and the Pope from the rest of Italy: nor would it make the Pope a foreign Sovereign ruling a section of the sons of Italy; but it would bind Rome and the Pope to Italy in a morally organic unity, acting with greater cohesion than can be produced by any material and mechanical bond which works like a sack that keeps the nuts together. (October 1, p. 30.)

Professor Lombroso's wonderful theory, which makes brain the seat of mechanical forces and leaves men with as much freedom of action as a steam engine or a clock, receives attention in the series of articles on "Modern Civilization, Science and Malefactors."

Other articles of a popular and very interesting character are "The Columbus Exposition at Genoa" and "The Tenth Catholic Congress at Genoa." "The Migrations of the Hittites"—a series of articles simply revolutionising our historical knowledge of this wonderful people—represents the Historical and Archaeological department; while "The Morrow of the Flood" is the serial which transports the reader to prehistoric times.

DON ABBONDIO.

Notices of Books.

Geschichte der Religion, als Nachweis der göttlichen Offenbarung und ihrer Erhaltung durch die Kirche. By W. WILMERS, S.J. Two vols. 6th ed., pp. xvi—451, 468, Index. Münster: Aschendorff. 1891.

THE rate at which Catholic literature in Germany has increased within the last twenty years, and still continues to increase, is simply amazing ; all the more so as the quality of the work is quite on a level with the quantity. A host of talent, varied and well organised, has arisen, and the results produced form a veritable storehouse of learning, which the Catholic student of to-day can ill afford to pass by. Here, naturally, as elsewhere, we find the Fathers of the Society well to the fore. Though exiled from home, they have never ceased to pour in upon their ungrateful country the choicest and ripest fruits of their genius and labour, and, as regards the above work, we rejoice to see that the preface to the latest edition is dated from Ditton Hall.

Germany is the land of Handbooks or Manuals, and in no department of knowledge have they appeared in greater number and excellence than in that of Religious and Catechetical instruction. In this field Father Wilmers is a leader and *facile princeps*. He has already published two Manuals of Religious Instruction, which have been through three and four editions respectively, and, by way of supplement to these, he has added the above work, which is a history of religion in two volumes, and which has even outstripped the manuals in the number of its editions. A book of this kind, that reaches its sixth edition in so short a time, needs no other recommendation as to its necessity or usefulness or intrinsic worth. It is in fact, an excellent work in every respect, in matter as in form, in system and order, as well as in style and diction. It almost realises our ideal of a perfect Church history, especially for the use of ecclesiastical students.

The author has found that it best suited his purpose to call it "A History of (Revealed) Religion in proof of its divine character, and its pure and perfect preservation by the Catholic Church ;" but the reader will find that it is, in reality, a history of the Kingdom of God, or the Church, from the beginning (*Ecclesia primitivorum*

et Christi). We may add, that it seems well up to date. Father Wilmers never loses sight of the modern standpoint. In a notice like the present it would be impossible to give a real analysis of the work or describe it in detail. The latter part simply deals with the history of the Church, and follows the beaten track of ordinary manuals in method and arrangement. It has this special feature, however, viz., that the author brings out as much as possible the facts which go to prove belief in the Papal Primacy and Infallibility. The denial of the latter, which he traces back to the Fraticelli, he shows to have been there and then considered heresy. But the former part of the work is incomparably the more interesting. Following the Scripture narrative of the Old Testament through its different epochs, he gives a short and concise commentary upon it, together with copious notes, in which he treats of Creation, the Hexaëmeron, Evolution, the Flood, the Authenticity of Scripture as illustrated by the discoveries of Egyptian and Assyrian monuments—in fact, every modern question, and each in its proper place. As to the Flood, he maintains its universality as regards mankind.

One special paragraph, he devotes to a minute examination of Old Testament chronology, and makes a bold stand for its original accuracy.

V. SCHOBEL, D.D.

Dogmen geschichte der vornicanischen Zeit. Zweite Auflage.
Von Professor Dr. SCHWANE. Freiburg: Herder, 1892.

THIS great work was begun in 1863 and finished in 1870. The first volume was noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW of October 1863 (p. 489), and the writer commented on the third volume in that of October 1890 (p. 489). Students of Church history are familiar with the recent discoveries made in patristical literature since the first edition of Vol. I. Professor Schwane, of the theological faculty of the Academy of Münster, undertook to bring out a second and improved edition of Vol. I., which has just been issued. A glance of this work is sufficient to show that the author has done his utmost to fulfil expectation. Recent discoveries made in patristical, German, and foreign literature have been dealt with; whilst the fourth part, which is taken up with the teaching on the Church, Primacy, and Sacraments, appears to have been extended and re-cast. The Apology of Aristides was not before the public when the proof-sheets treating on this philosopher were being printed. Professor Schwane was therefore unable to make use of it. The author has done his work well. The work is made up of four parts, viz., the dogmas on

(1) God, Trinity, and Creation; (2) Christology; (3) Anthropology; and (4) Church and Sacraments. The Greek and Latin texts of the fathers are given in the foot-notes, whilst the expositions of the texts are clear and sound. These 567 pages give us an instructive picture of the doctrine of the ancient fathers. We commend the work to English Catholic scholars. The gifted author, it may be added, was taken from us by a premature death last April.

BELLESHEIM.

Die Psalmen der Vulgata übersetzt und nach dem Literalium erklärt. Von Professor GOTTFRIED HOBERG. Freiburg: Herder. 1892.

DR. HOBERG, a comparatively young man, who occupies the chair of Exegesis at the University of Freiburg, has in the above work given us an able commentary on the Psalms. He explains and goes minutely into the literal sense of the Psalms of the Vulgate. The original text of the Psalms may doubtless be venerated by Catholics; nevertheless, for practical use—*e.g.*, daily devotions and the offices of the Church—the Vulgate is invested with a kind of authority. For the study of the Vulgate the student is more or less sure to be led to an understanding of the Septuagint in Latin, since the Vulgate Psalms are mainly based on this work. In the commentary the author employs the Alexandrine text and so-called vulgar or base Latin to attain to an adequate understanding of the Vulgate. His Greek texts are taken from the classical edition of Westcott and Hort (Cambridge, 1889). The introduction, giving a history of the authors who explained the Psalms, is brief and appropriate for students, whilst the commentary to an excellent German translation of every Psalm fulfils the expectations awakened by a work from a classical scholar. Both to professors and students this work will be useful.

B.

Iuris Ecclesiastici Institutiones in Usum Prælectionum.
Auctore Sebastiano Sanguineti è Societate Jesu, Romæ, ex
Typographia Polyglotta, S.C. de Propaganda fide. 1890.

FR. SANGUINETI, S.J., has re-edited and perfected in 1890 this his enchiridion of Canon Law, the first edition of which had been heartily welcomed alike by professors and students. As he had formerly occupied with eminent success the chair of Canon Law at the Università Gregoriana, it was not unlikely that, as lecturer in

the New Pontifical Historico-juridical Academia and Consultor of the SS. Congregations of the Council of Trent, of Studies and of Foreign Ecclesiastical Matters, etc., he should produce a valuable and solid text-book.

Those who are acquainted with the "*Acta et Decretæ Sacrorum Conciliorum Recentiorum Collectio Lacensis, Tomus Septimus*," and have read the "*Schemata*" and "*Postulata*," will regret that the author should still be obliged to remind his hearers of the old division of Canon Law into *Jus Antiquum*, *Jus Novum* et *Novissimum*. Had not the "*iniquitas temporum*" interfered so ruthlessly, his treatise might be entitled "*Jus Vaticanum*," bringing up the laws of the Church to the requirements of the age and the altered conditions of society since the Council of Trent. Meanwhile Fr. Sanguineti has written his *Manual of Elementary Canon Law* with a distinct idea that it should act as an introduction to a complete course of the *Corpus Iuris* or Case-Law, or to an historico-canonical treatment after the fashion of such distinguished authors as Wouters and Jungmann of the Louvain University. Hence the author says (p. 7) *ad Lectorem*: "*Ut utrique Scopo Institutiones nostræ responderent, ita iuris elementa proponere curavimus ut paulo liberius tum ad decretalium enarrationem, tum generatim ad profundiores iuris nostri tractationem ordinarentur.*" This will account for a more complicated, although very methodical system of chapters, titles—§—*a b c*—*a γ δ*—*aa bb cc*—*scholiæ*, which are more sparingly used in the handbooks of Tarquini, Devoti, De Brabandere, Ferrante, Sorgia, etc.

The historical and theoretical introduction, or "*Prænotiones iuris Ecclesiastici*," are perfect in their way. They fill 114 pages out of a total of 550 which makes up the whole volume. In most seminaries this disquisition would form part of the course of dogmatic or moral theology. The author writes of course with a freer hand, and, from his own point of view, of a higher course of Canon Law.

Follows next the *Liber primus, de Personis*; *Liber secundus, de rebus*; *Liber Tertius, de iudiciis Ecclesiasticis*—their general principles and their application to special lawsuits which crop up from time to time. Appended is an "*Instructio de modo quo œcomice procedere debeant Curie Ecclesiasticæ in causis disciplinariis et criminalibus clericorum.*"

If one part of this beautiful manual be more interesting to English readers than another, it is the *Titulus VII., et seqq.* from p. 371 to p. 448, where F. Sanguineti applies with eminent success the historical method of Canon Law to the important questions of Church property and of *Eccl. benefices*. If the principles of *Scholion I.* (p. 429) were

applied to the legislation of Decr. XIII. of the 1 Westm. Synod, ad. 1^o, there would, by this time, with the sanction of the Holy See, be in this New Ecclesiastical Province of Westminster a much larger number of quasi parishes and quasi benefices, with such spiritual increase and development, as fixity of tenure and emoluments would produce at least in Lancashire and other larger centres of Catholic population throughout the country.

Need I say that the work is beautifully got up? Paper and type are the most correct and best of their kind. The Latin, however, will at times appear difficult to the ordinary scholar, v. gr. page vi. in the introduction: *His de titulo operis . . . adeoque iis, veluti propædæutica disciplina iuris Ecclesiastici candidati eas iam rite perceptas animo notiones habeant quibus ad profundiorum perfectionemque iuris scientia notitiam hauriendam tutius accedant. Hoc quidem duplici methodo didactica fieri potest.* But then nobody reads prefaces. Would that there were everywhere chairs of Canon Law and Professors like Sanguineti, whose pupils, placed as bishops on the higher pinnacles of the Church, would in their administration follow the historico-canonical basis of the Church's legislation, and give us *diocesan* statutes rather than *provincial* synods, except these be drawn on a widely Catholic basis. As Reichel has it, p. 70 of his "Elements of Canon Law": "As tribes give place to nations, and nations are brought more into contact with each other, and become more assimilated to one another in temporal matters, so do local and national differences in the Church tend to disappear, and when Catholicism which is perfect has come, then that which is partial and national will be done away."

B. DE SPLENTER, J.C.D.

Constitutiones dogmaticae sacrosancti œcumenici Concilii
Vaticani ex ipsis eius actis explicatae atque illustratae
a Theodoro Granderath, Societatis Iesu presbytero.
Friburgi: Herder. 1892.

AS pointed out in the DUBLIN REVIEW (Jan. 1891, p. 232), in the notice of the seventh and concluding volume of the "Collectio Conciliorum recentiorum Lacensis," it was mainly to the unwearied exertions of Fr. Granderath that we are indebted for the successful close of this great undertaking. But as many would not easily find time and leisure for studying the all but innumerable discourses, documents, deliberations, discussions connected with the Council, Fr. Granderath has acted very wisely in collecting for the sake of students the main matters bearing on important questions of

philosophy and theology, and elucidating them by excellent commentaries. After a historical description of the order followed in the Council, and an extensive review of the documents from which the bishops gathered their information, the author presents us with two commentaries dealing with the two dogmatic constitutions of the Synod. Every section is subdivided in three parts, each of them embracing a history of the constitution, several dissertations on momentous topics, and, lastly, an explanation of the text gathered from the authentic acts of the Council. The history of the origin of the first constitution allows us an insight into the unceasing labour of the bishops in developing and vindicating Catholic faith against impending dangers. English scholars will be peculiarly interested in reading the author's dissertation on the beginning of the first chapter of the first constitution, the drift of the words "*Sancta Catholica Apostolica Romana Ecclesia*" being used to exclude the Anglican branch theory. Not less interesting is the second dissertation on the possibility of demonstrating the existence of God by means of the light of natural reason. Fr. Granderath happily seizes this opportunity for inquiring into certain opinions which were adopted after the close of the Council by some German scholars, and which, although not being tinged with traditionalism, yet seem to require besides the light of reason a kind of extraordinary support, without which man never could attain to the certainty of God's existence. The second part, besides affording the history of the origin of the constitution on the Church of Christ, embraces not less than nine dissertations referring to the Primacy of the Pope and the nature and extension of infallibility. In treating the latter doctrine, the author is peculiarly anxious to refute the opinions of some scholars bent on unduly enlarging the range of Papal infallibility. On more than one occasion his familiarity with the acts enables him to elucidate the meaning of the bishops, when otherwise it would have been difficult to do so. This solid commentary will render good service in casting light upon the decrees of the Vatican Council.

BELLESHEIM.

The Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church. By the Rev. A. A. LAMBING, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 356. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

NEARLY all the essays contained in this treatise originally appeared in the *Ave Maria*, or in *The American Ecclesiastical Review*. The author now collects them into a single volume with the view to placing before Catholics "in a small

compass a sufficiently full explanation of the principal devotions and sacred objects which they are accustomed to see or to make use of in the practice of their religion." After a short explanation of the meaning of "Sacramentals," followed by essays on the treasures of the Missal, Ritual, and Breviary, the author treats of the Sign of the Cross, the Stations of the Cross, Holy Oils, Holy Water, the Asperges, the Forty Hours' Adoration and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, the Brown Scapular, the Angelus, the Miraculous Medal, the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, the Litanies, the Paschal Candle, the Agnus Dei, Blessed Candles, Blessed Ashes, Blessed Palms, the Nuptial Mass and Blessing, the Churching of Women, Blessing and Thanksgiving at Meals, Sacred Vestments, Church Bells, the Blessing "in articulo mortis," and the Burial Service. In the case of each Sacramental the author gives an account of its history, its various uses, and the indulgences, if any, attached to it. The chapter entitled "Treasures of the Ritual" sets before us, in a very striking manner, the great number and variety of the benedictions of which the Church makes use to impart not only spiritual but also temporal blessings to her children. That more frequent application is not made for many of these benedictions can, we think, be accounted for only on the supposition that the faithful are not aware of their existence. The author deserves well of us for bringing them so prominently under our notice. When treating of the Breviary, replying to the supposed inquiry of a lay reader, "What have I to do with the Breviary?" Fr. Lambing shows that just as the Mass is the one great sacrifice of the Church, so the Divine Office is the one great public prayer; and just as all share in the graces that result from the celebration of Mass, so all share in the graces which flow from the recitation of the Divine Office.

Not until the day of final reckoning [says Fr. Lambing] will you understand how deeply you may be indebted for signal graces to some priest who perhaps refused your urgent invitation to dinner or tea, or an excursion, that he might say his Office with more leisure and recollection.

The entire book from first to last is full of interest, and the study of it would conduce very much to an intelligent appreciation of the ceremonies and devotions of the Church. The zealous layman will find much in it to gratify his pious curiosity, and the hard-worked Mission priest, who is often sore pressed for matter for his evening instructions to his people, will find here in a small compass materials for a long series of edifying and interesting discourses.

Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ dans son Saint Évangile. Par H. LESÊTRE, du Clergé de Paris. Paris: P. Lethielleux. 8vo., pp. 549.

THE task which the Abbé Lesêtre sets himself is: (1) to reproduce, in the words of sacred Scripture, the various events of the life of Our Lord as recorded in the Gospels; (2) to arrange these events in what would seem to be their natural order of sequence; (3) to combine into a single narrative, which carefully preserves the characteristics of each separate account, the various relations which more evangelists than one have given of any single event; (4) to add, for the better understanding of the sacred text, clear and concise explanations of the more difficult passages, and also, where the subject-matter seemed to call for it, to supply information drawn from theology, history, archæology, and other sources.

He has succeeded very completely in his task, and his work has won the valuable praise of the famous biblical scholar, M. l'Abbé Vigouroux, who commends it for its "great clearness," its "elegant simplicity," and its "accuracy of doctrine." The great merit of the book lies in this, that everything is strictly subordinated to the sacred text. There is no useless display of learning, no excess of detail, nothing to distract the attention from the life of Our Lord as it is written in the Gospels. The author keeps himself carefully in the background. When he speaks it is only to cast light upon some obscure passage, or to present us, in a few graphic touches, with such facts of history or topography as will enable us to vividly realise the scene which the Gospel is recording. This work is a valuable addition to the books of meditation and of spiritual reading which take as their subject the life of Our Lord.

Jesus, the All-Beautiful. A Devotional Treatise on the Character and Actions of Our Lord. By the Author of "The Voice of the Sacred Heart" and "The Heart of Jesus of Nazareth." Edited by the Rev. J. G. MACLEOD, S.J. 8vo., pp. 492. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. 1892.

THERE is in every human soul a craving for the beautiful. This craving can find its complete satisfaction only in the immediate vision of God. But the immediate vision of God is not vouchsafed to us in the present life. There were indeed special manifestations of the Godhead to the prophets and saints of the Old Law. But these manifestations were not immediate visions of God, and moreover were usually of such a kind as accorded with a dispensation the

dominant sanction of which was fear. It was reserved for the law of grace and of love to produce such a manifestation of the invisible God as would at once fill men with the love of His beauty, and set at rest that fear with which the idea of God's beauty was in the older Testament always in some sort overlaid. This manifestation was effected by the Word, the splendour of the Father and the figure of His substance, who, taking flesh, presented in the perfections of His human character the highest manifestation of the beauty of God, and the most irresistible stimulus to the love of God which mortal man could look upon and live. "Not only to save men by dying for them," says St. John of the Cross, "did He descend from His heavenly throne, but also to draw them to His Father by manifesting before them in human flesh the beauty of the Godhead."

Holding, with St. Thomas, that beauty is constituted by integrity, a just proportion or harmony of parts, and lustre and brightness which adorn and illuminate the beautiful thing, the writer of "Jesus, the All-Beautiful," by grouping together, under the virtues and characteristics to which they severally belong, the incidents recorded in the Gospel life of our Saviour, sets vividly before us the intense and unearthly beauty of the human side of Jesus. The classification of the various incidents has been made with much skill, and the setting of the author, while always distinguished by a spirit of tender piety, is often characterised by thoughts of singular elevation. The following passage, taken from the chapter entitled "Jesus, beautiful in His Sorrows," may serve as a specimen of the higher style to which the author not unfrequently rises :

Although sorrow springs up from the soil, over which sin has sown briars wherever we place our foot, it has become transformed into a Divine plant, budding forth beauty, and endowed with a virtue which perhaps nothing else of earthly origin possesses, because the Son of God has touched it, and given it a Divine character in the crucible of His own sacred Heart, and has glorified it, investing with its spirit His humanity at the right hand of the Father, where He reigns for ever as "the Man of Sorrows." So attractive, and, at the same time, so elevating in its influence is this angel of the New Law, as we have named it, that there seems to be something wanting to the perfection of any created loveliness where its presence has never been felt. It is the sigh of the exile for the eternal home; it is the beauty of Adam in his penitential love, and of all his descendants mourning the Paradise which he lost to them; it is the royal purple of the children of God, showing their affinity with the Crucified and entitling them to a place in their Father's love.

Fasti Mariani sive Calendarium festorum S. Mariæ Virginis Deiparæ memoriis historicis illustratum. Auctore F. G. HOLWECK. Friburgi: Herder. 1892.

THE author's intention has been to collect notices on any feasts of Our Lady as celebrated either by the Catholic Church or by the various schismatical bodies of the East. In doing so he does not confine himself to modern times, but goes back to the first period of Christianity. The main scope the author has marked out for himself was to establish the antiquity of the devotion to Our Lady by collecting testimonies from official liturgical works enjoying the highest authority, such as Missals, Breviaries, and Calendars. Besides, he constantly brings into relief the historical development of the several feasts. The learned expositions of the manifold forms of devotion to Our Lady in the sacred Liturgy are followed up by a very accurate table of the various festivals. In performing this task the author seems to follow in the track of the Roman Martyrology. There is scarcely to be found any day which is not honoured by a feast of Our Lady. The large body of materials collected, and the large number of authorities consulted, bear ample evidence to the author's diligence and research. By furnishing fresh evidence for the devotion to Our Lady as an element of primitive Christianity, this work will commend itself as a source of reference to priests, whether devoted to liturgiological studies or to the work of the ministry.

B.

The Vicar of Christ. By Rev. W. HUMPHREY, S.J. 8vo, 104 pp. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co. 2s. 6d.

READERS of "The Month" will be familiar with the following little treatise by the Rev. William Humphrey, S.J., as it is merely a reprint, in book form, of the valuable and interesting articles on the subject which have appeared in that magazine from time to time. The first chapter deals with the Vicar of Christ, considered in himself; Chapter II. deals with him in his relation to the Church; and Chapter III. in his relation to society. S.

The Layman's Day; or, Jewels of Practical Piety. By PERCY FITZGERALD. 8vo, pp. 59. London: Burns and Oates.

MR. PERCY FITZGERALD is too well known to our readers to need any introduction from us. The present enticing little volume, of some sixty pages, is, like his "Jewels of the Mass" and his "Words for the Worldly," a spiritual treatise, full of wise

sayings and pertinent observations. The writer's special intention in the present small volume is "as a layman to set before his brother laymen the great truth that salvation is a serious business or profession, not to be secured on the easy terms of merely attending a church on a Sunday or holiday." That he has succeeded in this task we think every reader of the tract will agree. No one, we feel well assured, can con his pages without feeling a deeper and a truer sense of the responsibilities of life.

J. S. V.

Confessio Viatoris. By C. KEGAN PAUL. 8vo, pp. 66. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1891.

IN these few pages are recorded the religious impressions of a lifetime, expressed with much modesty yet with vigour and terseness. From books written with a view to prejudice and mislead the Church's teaching, Mr. Kegan Paul at a very early age was drawn towards it. In her bitterest and most unscrupulous opponents he found more to condemn than to approve in the methods they had recourse to in their attacks. Of Bishop Wilberforce he writes: "His gross unfairness to Rome made me more tender to her supposed errors." The traveller's journey was a long and tedious one, until taking Auguste Comte's advice to read "The Imitation of Christ," he was "brought back to faith, and faith to him." Cardinal Newman's "Grammar of Assent" brought the weary wayfarer final rest and peace.

A. O.

Hierurgia ; or, The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. With Notes and Dissertations elucidating its Doctrines and Ceremonies. By DANIEL ROCK, D.D. Third Edition; revised by W. H. JAS. WEALE, 12s. Two vols., 8vo, pp. 346 and 401. London: Jn. Hodges.

THIS valuable work, from the pen of the scholar and antiquarian, the Rev. Daniel Rock, D.D., has, we are glad to see, reached its third edition. It has, we are assured in the preface, been carefully revised, the references verified, and the quotations, when necessary, corrected and occasionally amplified. It was an important contribution to ecclesiastical literature even when it appeared in 1833, but it is ten times more important now, when so many earnest Protestants are enquiring into the traditions and practices of the early Church, and seeking to inform themselves as to the truth or falsehood of the preposterous theory of "continuity." Though these two volumes do not treat especially of England or the English, there is frequent reference to Anglo-Saxon practice, and to

the usages here in England in the good old Catholic days—quite enough, at all events, to explode the theory that the Anglicanism of to-day is identical with the early British and Saxon Church.

The whole of the first volume, with the exception of the last chapter, is occupied with the Mass, the Real Presence, and Holy Communion; the last chapter treats of the practice of invoking the angels and saints.

The unhesitating belief of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in the intercession of the Saints, says Dr. Rock, and the religious odour with which, as is attested by a variety of monuments, they invoked their prayers, demonstrate the genuineness of their religious credence, and its consequent identity with that of the universal Church, whether in the East or West, on this important article of faith (p. 334, vol. i.).

In the second volume of his *Hierurgia* Dr. Rock discourses learnedly and clearly on a variety of interesting topics. There we find chapters on "Relics," on "Purgatory," on "Ceremonies," on "the Cross," and on "Images," as well as on "the use of Vestments," "Lights," "Holy Water," "Diptychs," "Altars," and "Incense."

The whole work, which is enriched by several valuable engravings of ancient monuments, minutely transcribed with every fault or flaw however glaring, concludes with four most useful appendices. The first consists of certain extracts from the ancient Liturgies, by which it is clearly shown that the doctrine of the Real Presence was taught in all the churches which the Apostles and their immediate disciples founded. The second points out the unanimity of all Oriental Liturgies in the invocation of the Saints reigning in Heaven. The third deals with the Canon of Scripture; and the fourth, which consists of some five-and-twenty pages, describes the Catacombs and the value of their testimony to the antiquity of existing Catholic practices.

Some of the notes are of extreme interest. There is one in particular, beginning on page 236 and ending on page 239, which should rivet the attention of every Englishman. The writer therein shows not only that the Church is undoubtedly the nursing mother of the fine arts, but that the English school of art might have been, and probably would have been, pre-eminent, had the Catholic faith not been banished out of this island. This is no mere expression of opinion resting upon a spirit of overweening patriotism, but is a calm assertion which Dr. Rock supports by some excellent reasoning.

We hope the "*Hierurgia*" may find many readers and command a wide and extensive sale; a good index at the end of Vol. II. makes it very serviceable as a book of reference.

Dictionnaire de la Bible. Publié par F. VIGOUROUX, prêtre de Saint-Sulpice, avec le Concours d'un grand nombre de Collaborateurs. Fascicules II. (Ain-Animaux) and III. (Animaux-Archéologie). Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 17 Rue du Vieux-Colombier. 1892.

IN October of 1891 we welcomed the first fasciculus of this "Bible Dictionary," and explained the method and scope of its compilers; the second and third instalments of it have since reached us, and call for mention. It is pleasant to be able to recommend them without any of those reserves which are inevitably demanded in the case of even the best non-Catholic works of the kind. Helped by a large staff of co-workers (including many of the best biblical scholars among the clergy and religious orders of France) the learned Sulpician editor is producing a work of Scripture reference of every kind (the men, women, localities, plants, animals, &c., of the Bible; biographies of commentators; theological, philological, archæological questions raised in the text, &c. &c.), a work of first-hand research, which without leaving the lines of Catholic tradition is yet quite abreast of the best modern scholarship, and deals with current adverse criticism. And thus excellent as to the matter of its pages the new "Bible Dictionary" is equally recent and excellent as to its form—both as to type, engravings, specially executed plans, &c., and also as to the literary quality of its articles. Those articles which deal with individual books of Scripture will be found serviceable as an introduction to a more appreciative and scientific reading of each book itself—see, for example, the articles in these pages on "Amos" and "Apocalypse," and that in the first fasciculus on "Actes des Apôtres." In the third fasciculus we may note, in addition to the numerous engravings, two fine fac-simile lithographs, one of a page of the Codex Alexandrinus, the other of the Codex Amiatinus. The three fasciculi thus far published run together to 928 columns of large quarto pages; and this, when it is noted that they reach as far as the first paragraphs of the article on (Biblical) Archæology will sufficiently indicate the magnitude of the plan on which the Dictionary is being constructed. It may be useful here to remark again that the Abbé Vigouroux has undertaken an original work; it is not an adaptation from either the German or English. At the same time the stores of English and German Biblical literature are being searched and utilised by himself and his co-workers; and due mention of the best English works is to be found in the bibliographical lists which close most of the articles. The editor himself gives evidence of his familiarity with English literature in the article from his pen on "Anglaises (versions) de la Bible," one

section of which contains a brief but interesting sketch of the Douay Version. The Bishops of Rodez and of Saint-Dié have already written their very high appreciation of the merits and value of this Dictionary, and they close their letters with earnest prayers that the editor may be spared with vigour of strength to carry the work to a noble completion; we cordially join our own good wishes, recommending the work to Catholics interested in Bible study. The subscription amounts to five francs each fasciculus; and a specimen one, we believe, can be had separately.

Etudes de Theologie Positive sur la Sainte Trinité. Par TH. DE RÉGNON, S.J. 8vo, pp. xi-499. Paris: Victor Retaux. 1892.

PÈRE DE RÉGNON has given us in these pages a work of much erudition, belonging to a class which has grown extremely rare. It is founded on Petavius, but is not without originality. The author's purpose, we learn in his suggestive prologue, has been to reconcile by clear exposition the seemingly divergent formulas of the Greek and Latin Fathers concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. To the Latins he would say, the One Substance was the guiding principle which they obeyed in laying down the doctrines of faith; while the Greeks, Origen, Basil, and the two Gregories, for example, insisted rather on the Divinity of each Person as revealed in their several manifestations *ad extra*. In other words, the Easterns followed an historical, or, as certain German schools might term it, a pragmatic method; and the Westerns—that is to say, really, Augustine—a more speculative one, tending to contemplation and mysticism, such as we find in the later Middle Ages. The subject is one of great importance; and Père de Régnon intends to follow up his present essay, which is in the main a statement of dogma from the Greek side, with a similar account of the Latins. If the outcome should be a fresh chapter in our Treatises de Trinitate, completing the observations which Cardinal Newman has made on the School of Alexandria by detailed parallels and contrasts between the Fathers of East and West down to the Master of the Sentences, we may congratulate Père de Régnon on having undertaken a useful task. Many of his remarks by the way are valuable to the preacher no less than to the theologian, and his introduction throws considerable light on the chapter of “real distinctions.”

Aquinas Ethicus ; or, the Moral Teaching of St. Thomas.—A Translation with Notes on the Greater Portion of the Second Part of the *Summa Theologica*. In two vols. 8vo, pp. xxviii—426, xxvii—460. By JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. London: Burns and Oates. 1892.

EXPERIENCE has shown Fr. Rickaby that it is extremely difficult to persuade even young ecclesiastics to keep on reading St. Thomas in Latin; and in these countries laymen seem not to read him at all. Nevertheless, what Leo XIII. had in view when publishing his encyclical on the study of Catholic philosophy was that we should go back to the *Summa* itself, and not merely take this or that system instead of the Angelic, or as equal to the original text. If, however, those concerned will not trouble themselves with Latin, they may perhaps be tempted by English, and Fr. Rickaby has translated for them in these two volumes the greater part of St. Thomas's contributions to natural ethics—a subject which happens to be one of great and growing importance. The rendering is precise and literal, with occasional but rare notes to guard against misunderstandings. A commentary may be sought in the volume on "Ethics and Natural Law," to which this work furnishes a full text. As a storehouse of reference on all manner of questions, debated and debatable, "*Aquinas Ethicus*" should be welcome to the Catholic student, man of letters, and journalist—especially the latter, who would often find in it a crisp statement of principles which he is likely to want in addressing a public so very much at sea as the modern upon the problems of right and wrong. Fr. Rickaby's notes are fresh, and his illustrations not seldom amusing. He has done what he proposed with great skill and accuracy, and we wish him a large circle of readers.

Blessed Louis-Marie Grignon de Montfort, and his Devotion. By a SECULAR PRIEST. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 359, 417. London and Leamington: The Art and Book Company. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1892.

IT was right that a biography, carefully prepared and complete, should be placed before the English-reading public, of a Saint so striking and edifying as Blessed Grignon de Montfort. Even before his beatification, on January 22, 1888, by Pope Leo XIII., his name was well known in this country through Father Faber's Preface, and the controversy provoked by Pusey in his "*Eirenicon*." The writer, who conceals himself under the name of "*A Secular Priest*," but who, under that name, is not by any means a stranger

in English Catholic literature, has given us, in these two well-filled volumes, probably all that there is to be known about the celebrated missionary and client of Our Lady. He has read and compared all the French lives, of which there are a considerable number, from the one published by Grandet eight years after Blessed Louis's death, down to the very full compilation of Abbé Quérard, printed in 1887 at Rennes.

Blessed Grignon de Montfort was one of those born missionaries who cannot bear any regular work, however holy, but must wander from place to place in poverty, detachment, and the power of the Word of God. It seems to the reader of his wonderfully mortified and extraordinary life that he would have saved time and been spared much uncertainty if he had in his youth entered a religious order—that of St. Dominic, for example. As it was, with that scrupulous line of holy obedience which characterises all successful apostles, he depended on men who either would not or could not accept the responsibility of directing him. Once free of his directors, however, he recognised his vocation—the interesting visit which he paid to Pope Clement XI. confirming him in it. It was to be a “home missionary”; and the greater part of these two volumes is taken up with the history of his wanderings through Vendée and Brittany, stirring up faith and promoting piety, and leaving everywhere the fruits of his zeal in the devotions which he established, and the churches which he was the means of restoring. Like St. Dominic, St. Vincent Ferrer, and St. Alphonsus, his great instrument for bringing souls to Christ was devotion to Mary. It is said that there has been no such propagator of the Holy Rosary since the days of St. Dominic himself. His personal devotion to the Immaculate Mother of God took the form of a peculiar consecration which he had learnt from St. Sulpice, and the great men who immediately followed M. Olier, among whom he made his studies and took his earlier steps in the way of perfection. His “secret” was, to form in his soul, by assiduous and constant acts, the spiritual presence of the Blessed Virgin as the forerunner or giver of Jesus. In this, by divine grace and many special visitations of the Holy Spirit, he succeeded to a marvellous degree, so that he became a living mirror of Jesus. For the full explanation of this devotional view, which was not by any means a novelty (being, indeed, simply St. Bernard's view), but which owes a certain originality to the mystical language of the seventeenth century, the reader may be referred to the treatise on “True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin,” written by the Saint himself, and translated under the auspices of Father Faber, of which translation a fourth edition appeared a year or two since.

One or two of his phrases have aroused a certain amount of antagonism; for example, his calling himself the "slave" of Mary. The word is, and always was, perfectly orthodox. It expresses complete service and absolute devotedness. Whether it is a good word to use is a matter of taste. St. Paul and the Apostles called themselves "bond-slaves" of Jesus Christ. But in more modern history the word "slave" has associations which are rather those of servility than of devotedness. Many devout persons in the seventeenth century called themselves the "slaves" of Jesus or of Mary; for example, Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque. The word has not continued to be employed, probably for the reason at which we have hinted. Blessed Louis-Marie also wore all his life little chains, as a mark of his "servitude." A great amount of trouble has been caused by these chains. The reader may consult these volumes (vol. i. p. 155) on the subject. One confraternity, calling itself the "Slaves of the Mother of God," was condemned under Clement X., when Blessed Louis was five months old; and other confraternities have shared its fate, apparently because they used chains of some sort. But a confraternity which makes itself ridiculous is one thing, and a private person, who privately wears an emblem which helps his devotion, is another.

There is an enormous amount of edifying reading in this work, and the writer everywhere shows that piety and devout ardour which go so far to make a life of a saint acceptable. Moreover, he is critical and exact, and we have probably in these pages as correct a history of the forty-three years of Blessed de Montfort's earthly career as there is in existence. But it may perhaps be said with some truth that the book is too long. The author's pious remarks and citations are not always strictly *à propos* of the narrative; and he indulges in long disquisitions—such as that contained in the introduction—which are not sufficiently novel either in idea or treatment to be placed where they are. The English, however, apart from the enormous length of too many of the sentences, is good and clear, and the translations from the French read very well indeed. There is a curious point connected with the Saint's name. It was not "de Montfort" at all. Montfort was the town in which he was born—Montfort-sur-Meu, in Brittany. It was not an uncommon thing for a man who professed to follow Christ as a missionary to drop his own name, and affix to his Christian name the appellation of the place he came from. This is what the Franciscans always do. It was done by the Saint in his lifetime, and more or less taken up by his friends. But his own name of Grignon is not the name as he himself writes it. In his own letters, in those of his contemporaries,

and on his tomb, it is spelt "Grignon." When or why the change was made the writer does not inform us.

In the book there are interesting notices of the formation and progress of the two Congregations formed by Blessed Louis—the Company of Mary, a strictly missionary order of men; and the Daughters of Wisdom, of women, with objects similar to those of the Sisters of Charity.

There is a fairly complete index, and the volumes are well and correctly printed by the Art and Book Company, of Leamington, who publish them.

A Primer for Converts. Showing the Reasonable Service of Catholics. By Rev. JOHN T. DURWARD. Small 8vo., pp. 175. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1892. 25 cents.

BEFORE reading this little work one must carefully look at the title-page to avoid misjudging the author. The book is intended to show "the reasonable service of Catholics," and this idea is well sustained throughout. But the title itself, "A Primer for Converts," does not really indicate the contents. Judging from this title, one would naturally expect a plain exposition of Catholic doctrine supported by reason, whereas the Primer is really a philosophical essay addressed to the indifferentist and the "unbeliever," as the author calls his "dear reader." For all that, the book itself is good and serviceable, and far more original than one would have expected. It is one of the few books the reader likes better and finds more interesting as he advances, and can read again and enjoy a second time when he fully understands the purport of the author.

As the author's country abounds with indifferentists, his book ought to do a great deal of good and show them the better way—*i.e.*, if they can be got to read it. Converts it will certainly strengthen in the faith.

The freshness of the language, the closeness of the argument, the sprightliness racy of the soil—all remind us of Father Lambert's "Notes on Ingersoll." May the work have the same success!

The book abounds with little gems, of which we will give a few.

Perhaps the best proof of the supernatural in man is found in the fact of *progress* (p. 98).

We find that conscience is a practical commander, not a theoretical instructor (p. 103).

Reject the action of God, and the inexplicable meets us at every step (p. 148).

Faith is not a servitude, but a higher freedom (p. 172).

The chapters on the "Supernatural" and on "Miracles" are particularly good and convincing. The fact that Huxley, Tyndall, and J. S. Mill admit the possibility of miracles, ought to be a strong point with the average American. The conciseness of the last chapter on "Faith" is only equalled by its precision, and it demolishes the usual objections raised against it.

This review would not be complete without also noticing what we consider to be faulty in the book.

First, the title ought to have been different, so as to indicate the contents.

Secondly, the chapter on the "Immortality of the Soul" is somewhat intricate and obscure for the ordinary reader of a "primer."

Thirdly, "The Memorable Document" only mars the book, serves no purpose (who denies the crucifixion?), and is intrinsically improbable. Why introduce stories which even good Catholics hesitate to believe? Perhaps even the strange events alleged to have happened at the attempted rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, and also the Lourdes miracles, had better have been left out. If the Catholic principle of miracles be admitted by the "unbeliever," we should not trouble him with particular miracles, except biblical ones. These three chapters read like an interpolation, jarring on the ears of the reader.

Otherwise we have nothing but praise for the book, and we highly recommend it to the "inquirer," for whom it seems to be intended, and whose name should have appeared on the title-page.

F. R.

The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter.

Two Lectures on the newly recovered Fragments, together with the original Texts. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, B.D., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Christ's College; and MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, M.A., Fellow and Dean of King's College. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.

ABOUT six years ago, through the instrumentality of the French Archæological Mission at Cairo, a very remarkable discovery was made in an ancient cemetery at Akhim, in Upper Egypt. A document was dug up, which was found to contain, besides the Greek text of the first thirty chapters of the pre-Christian "Book of Enoch," fragments of the "Gospel of Peter" and of the "Apocalypse of Peter."

These fragments have, quite recently, been published in this country. "The Gospel of Peter," a writing of great antiquity, certainly cannot be placed much later than the middle of the second century. The historian Eusebius preserves a letter of Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (190-203) to the Church of Rhossus, in which he refers to the "Gospel of Peter" as being read in that church. Allowing a reasonable time for the Gospel to have gained weight and authority, this would take us to the middle of the second century. It is true that the coincidences between our Gospel and Tatian seem to imply the use of a previous harmony of the four Gospels, and accordingly that the work is later than the year 170; but, on the other hand, many circumstances conspire to make it not unlikely that the Gospel is really a production of the early part of the second century.

The restored fragment contains an account of the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ; and there are two things worthy of note in regard to it. (1) First, the writer obviously makes use of the four Gospels. No distinction is made between the Synoptists and the fourth Gospel; all are of equal authority in his eyes, and are quoted impartially in the Greek text. (2) Secondly, the writer is clearly a hater of the Jews, and in favour of the errors of the Docetæ. Accordingly, he not only *uses* the four Canonical Gospels; he *misuses* them also to suit his purpose: we have, in fact, in this Gospel "a good example of a tendency-writing," or, in other words, a document written from the point of view of the Docetæ. Thus, to take one example, the author (evidently supporting the view of Corinthus, that the *Logos* came down on the Man Christ at the time of His baptism, and departed from Him on the cross) gives the following account of our Lord's last words on the cross:

And it was noon, and darkness covered all Judea . . . and many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night, and fell down. And the Lord cried out, saying, My Power, My Power, thou hast forsaken me. And when He had said this He was taken up. And in that hour the vail of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain.

The "Apocalypse of Peter" may date perhaps from the end of the first century: certainly it is not more recent than the middle of the second. For it finds a place in the list of books contained in the Muratorian Fragment (170-200); and though it is referred to there as not being universally received, still it was evidently held in great respect. Before the recovery of the fragment we are discussing, passages of the Apocalypse had already been known, being cited, amongst others, by Clement of Alexandria in the beginning, and St. Methodius of Olympus in Lycia, at the close of the third century. Eusebius, in the fourth century, evidently regarded it as spurious; but still we

know, from the historian Sozomen, that it was read in certain churches of Palestine in the fifth century, and we know also that it continued to be copied, down to the ninth century, in Jerusalem.

When complete, the "Apocalypse of Peter" seems to have been of about the same length as the Epistle to the Galatians. The recovered fragment contains rather less than half the whole work, and is taken up with a vision of St. Peter, in which he witnesses the joys of the blessed and the sufferings of the damned. In the early times of Christianity the work evidently enjoyed much popularity and exercised not a little influence during the same period, upon treatises dealing with the lot of the reprobate after death. If the view of the author is any criterion of the belief of the early Church, it is obvious that Professor Mivart is not much in accord with it in regard to the state of the damned. The author of our Apocalypse certainly does not picture the lot of the reprobate as one of happiness. On the contrary, he conceives hell to be a place of torment. We quote one instance of his description :

And I saw another place over against that other, very squalid, and it was a place of chastisement; . . . and hard by them again were women and men gnawing their lips, and being tormented, and receiving red-hot iron upon their eyes; and these were they that had blasphemed and spoken evil of the way of righteousness; . . . and others again near them, women and men, were burning, and turning themselves, and being roasted: and these were they that had forsaken the way of God."

In conclusion, we have only to say that Mr. Robinson's lecture upon the Gospel and Mr. James's upon the Apocalypse are full of interest and learning, and enable one, in a very short time, to appreciate the bearing and importance of the recovered fragments.

J. C. HOWLETT.

Life and Works of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux.

Edited by DOM JOHN MABILLON. Translated and edited, with additional notes, by SAMUEL J. EALES, M.A. Two vols., pp. 941. London: Burns and Oates. New York: Benziger Bros.

Second Edition, Vols. I. and II. London: Burns and Oates. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.

THIS second edition of the first volume of Dr. Eales's translation of St. Bernard need only be mentioned. The translator's work is excellent, and the notes and general editing all that could be desired. Dr. Eales does not write precisely as a Catholic. Perhaps he accepts all Catholic doctrine as to miracles and visions, for example, but he is naturally timid and reserved in professing it before his Anglican brethren. For all who do not read St.

Bernard in the original, this translation is a treasure. The present volumes contain the letters, to the number of 350 or thereabouts, together with Dom Mabillon's general introduction.

Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England and Martyr under Henry VIII. By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Second edition, pp. 472. London: Burns & Oates, Limited.

FATHER BRIDGETT has in this delightful biography brought back to life Holbein's portrait of England's great Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. We are glad that an artist's masterpiece of portraiture should form the frontispiece of an author's masterpiece; for few indeed can there be who would dispute that Father Bridgett has put it forth in this his *Life of Sir Thomas More*.

The *Life* is no mere sketch, nor the stringing together of events and the chronicle of scenes and deeds enacted in an all-important epoch of English history.

Father Bridgett has made of the past his present, and in his pages we see the past as those who were part of it and concerned in it saw it. He has achieved solely with the pen what dramatic and enterprising stage-managers seek to produce on the boards—a tragedy in flesh and blood. There is no tinsel between the boards of Father Bridgett's book, no deceptive side-lights and ingenious make-ups. The dead speak their own lives, and tell us of the deeds done, noble and ignoble, and from their lips and letters the life of the central figure is unfolded from its beginning to its close. A more delightful and impressive study of character, and of events in which character played so marked a part, cannot be conceived. Grouped around Sir Thomas More are those characters, famous and infamous, of the epoch, their living presentment drawn, not from fancy's fiction, but by those whose names are inseparably connected with the period.

Seldom has a biographical work so richly illustrated the history of its time.

Since the appearance of the second edition Mr. James Gairdner has published in *The English Historical Review* (October) a letter, newly discovered in the Public Record Office, and written by a Father Bonge, or Bouge, a Carthusian monk, dated 1535 and addressed to one "Kateryn Man." In it the writer speaks of his friendship with Sir Thomas More as close and intimate, mentions that he baptised two of his children, buried his first wife, and married him to his second.

The affectionate and eulogistic manner in which he refers to his old schoolfellow is but another strong testimony that the character of

Sir Thomas More as revealed to us by Father Bridgett had the approving seal of his contemporaries, as it has won the veneration and affection of those who have had the pleasure of reading Fr. Bridgett's book.

A. O.

La Perception et la Psychologie Thomiste. Par M. DOMET DE VORGES. 8vo, pp. xi-282. Paris: A. Roger et F. Chernoviz. 1892.

M. DE VORGES has not only an extensive acquaintance with the writings of St. Thomas, but also a deep insight into their meaning. Enthusiastic in his admiration of the great master, he is convinced that to gain acceptance for the philosophical doctrines of St. Thomas nothing more is needed than to set them before the world in a language intelligible to the present day. His treatise on "Perception and Psychology according to the mind of St. Thomas" is intended as an effort in this direction. This treatise discusses the external and internal senses in general and in detail, the intellectual perception of being, the knowledge of essences, conscience, the objectivity of perception, &c., &c. The author has constantly before his mind those who are disposed to set aside the speculations of St. Thomas as old-fashioned, and unsuited to the intellectual progress of the times. It is for their sake that he, from time to time, points out how the views of St. Thomas may be reconciled with recent discoveries in physiology and kindred sciences. But his treatise will also be of great advantage to those whose knowledge of St. Thomas is drawn from the ordinary text-books of scholastic philosophy. Questions such as those bearing upon the *ratio particularis*, the way in which the intellect perceives essences, the process by which essences become recognised as universal, which are so often treated in a cramped and sketchy fashion, are discussed by M. de Vorges with freedom and power. An ordinary scholastic text-book will inform us that when a sensible thing is presented each faculty of the soul perceives there its proportioned object. The senses perceive the various material characteristics, but the intellect penetrates to the essence. The reader is apt to carry away the impression that the first time a strange object is presented to him he at once intues its essence, and is, or ought to be, in a position to formulate its definition. But the knowledge of essences is not so easily acquired. What the intellect first perceives is that the object is a *thing*, accompanied by such external manifestations as are immediately evident to the senses. Observation, comparison, inference, toil and trouble of many kinds, will be needed before the thing is known in all its specific

characteristics, and an adequate definition becomes possible. All this is well explained by M. de Vorges. Nevertheless, we are surprised to find him stating that he knows of no author who has not left the question in obscurity. Not to mention other scholastic writers, Cardinal Zigliara, who is quoted by M. de Vorges in the course of his treatise, distinctly affirms that the specific, generic, and transcendental essences of material things are the proper object of the human intellect (*"Summa Philosophica,"* vol. ii. p. 301), and that which the intellect first perceived is the transcendental essence or "isness" of the thing (*ibid.* p. 276). Still, we are free to admit that M. de Vorges discusses this and other important questions with far greater clearness and fulness than is usual with scholastic authors.

M. de Vorges makes some interesting remarks on the category of "habitus." Aristotle gives us examples of "habitus" (*ἔχειν*, possession), "to be shod," "to be armed." The early scholastics, according to our author, mistook the illustrations for a definition, and restricted the category to dress, and things analogous to dress. "The idea of a special category for a circumstance so insignificant as dress," says M. de Vorges, "is certainly not worthy of Aristotle, and we are glad to have this opportunity of pointing out a misconception which, thanks to its very insignificance, has kept its place in the tradition of the Schools, and which may be traced back, we think, as far as the times of Gilbert Porée."

Corps et Âme : Essais sur la Philosophie de St. Thomas. Par M. J. GARDAIR, Professeur libre de la Philosophie à la Sorbonne. 8vo, pp. viii-391. Paris : Lethielleux. 1892.

A VOLUME of scholastic philosophy in French, dealing with the Aristotelian theory of physics, the faculties of the mind, the nature of knowledge, and free-will. M. Gardair has written much on St. Thomas, and is extremely well-read in the works of the Angelic. Perhaps the least satisfactory of his chapters, as will be anticipated, is that which aims at reconciling modern chemistry and dynamics with the very obscure and difficult conceptions of "materia prima," "forma substantialis," and so forth, which are familiar to the students of medieval learning. Nor does M. Gardair at all lighten the darkness by rendering into clear modern speech a phraseology that has been so long out of use. Like many of those to whom the restoration of Thomism, pure and undefiled, seems an enterprise necessary for these times, he gives us medieval and modern elements side by side, without fusing them together; nay, without even passing them through his own intellect, and thereby

stamping on them some characteristic which would make them live and move. This book is a sample of the mechanical, though well-meant repetition, which propagates a philosophy by mere echo. To those who can read St. Thomas it may appear to be superfluous; and the multitude who have not read him will find it hard to understand, and not generally interesting. But the fatal flaw is in the method. We require, if the metaphysics of old time are to be assimilated with the physics of to-day, not their juxtaposition, but their synthesis—a result which tractates of this kind will do very little towards achieving. All one can say in praise of them is, that they often quote from St. Thomas explanations that are more intelligible than the commentaries upon him; and that young students of philosophy may be helped thereby to gain a real apprehension of their subject, so far as it is purely scholastic. From this point of view M. Gardair writes well and tersely. The pages on free-will are perhaps his best.

Bossuet Historien du Protestantisme: *Etude sur l'HISTOIRE DES VARIATIONS et sur le controverse entre les protestants et les catholiques au dix-septième siècle.* PAR ALFRED RÉBELLIAU. *Deuxième édition revue.* Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1892.

IT is a common prejudice that a great orator, and especially a great pulpit orator, cannot be a great historian. Hence it is that Bossuet, whose position as the prince of modern preachers is now universally acknowledged, is considered for that very reason to have been incapable of the patient research and the calm statement of fact which are essential to the writer of history. A whole host of French critics, from Sainte-Beuve downwards, might be quoted to show that even among his own countrymen the title of historian is denied to the renowned author of the *Histoire Universelle* and the *Histoire des Variations*. M. Rébelliau's object in his present volume is to prove that the latter work is eminently scientific, and that it is as worthy of the study and admiration of historians as it is of men of letters. One cannot help being struck at once with the extent of his reading. The lengthy notes on almost every page abound in numberless references to writers on Bossuet and his times. Yet there is no confusion in this mass of erudition. The materials are all admirably arranged, both in the gross and in detail, and there are excellent summaries of results after the discussion of the evidence. To do justice to M. Rébelliau's merits would not be possible within the scope of a notice. Suffice it to say that he is himself a brilliant example of the many qualities which

he recognises as belonging to an historian, and which he claims with justice for Bossuet his master.

The first portion of the volume deals with the state of the controversy between the Catholics and Protestants in the second half of the seventeenth century, and also with Bossuet's qualifications for the important task which he was about to undertake. M. Rébelliau disclaims any pretension to a profound knowledge of theology; yet his sketch of the course of the theological disputes resulting from the great revolt against Rome is worthy of all praise for its clearness and fairness. He shows how both parties at length came to agree that perpetuity was the mark of truth, and variation the mark of error. The question of fact had now to be discussed: which Church had remained the same?—which Church had varied? Arnauld and Nicole showed that the Catholic Church had ever taught the same doctrine concerning one great point in dispute (*La Perpétuité de la foi de l'Eglise touchant l'Eucharistie*). Bossuet undertook to prove that variation—change, disagreement—ever accompanied Protestantism. His *Réfutation du Catéchisme de Ferry*, his *Exposition de la Foi Catholique*, his conferences and his discourses, had already gained for him the reputation of being the ablest controversialist of his day. But was he qualified to enter upon a minute inquiry into a complicated historical question? A glance at his early training and his mature studies shows that history always had a special interest for him. Indeed, he lived in an atmosphere of history. The great ecclesiastical historians of whom France can so justly boast—Petavius, Labbé, Thomassin, Mabillon, Tillemont, Lamy, Du Pin, Launoy, Natalis Alexander, Fleury—were his older or younger contemporaries, and many of them his friends. As preceptor of the Dauphin he superintended the composition of a number of historical works destined for the instruction of the young prince. Moreover, three important historical works are a convincing testimony of his interest in the subject—*Histoire de France*, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, and *Tradition défendue touchant la communion sous une seule espèce*.

In his second book M. Rébelliau examines the sources whence Bossuet drew his materials and the plan which he followed in arranging them; and also discusses three important questions concerning which the *Histoire des Variations* enunciated original views—viz., the origin and beliefs of the Vaudois (Waldenses), the civil wars in France in the sixteenth century, and the character and influence of Melancthon. On all these three points M. Rébelliau successfully maintains that Bossuet was the first to uphold these opinions, and that they have since been accepted by historians.

This second portion of the volume before us occupies nearly 150 pages, and is well worthy of careful study.

Lastly, we have a lengthy account of the results of the publication. Its success has been enormous. After its first appearance in 1688 it was reprinted in the same year, and again in 1689, 1691, 1702, 1710, 1717, 1730, 1734, 1740, 1747, 1752, 1760, 1770, 1772, 1817, 1821, 1823, 1827, 1844, 1845; to say nothing of the copies included in the editions of Bossuet's entire works. It was several times translated into Latin and into Italian (1732), English (1742, and 1829), German (1769), and Spanish (1852). It provoked replies from Jurieu, Basnage, Allix, Le Vassor, Lenfant, Beausobre, Aymon, J. B. Renoult, Burnet, Turretin, Seckendorf, Pfaff, May, Brunsmann, and Schulz. The general objections and the special difficulties raised by these opponents are all carefully discussed by M. Rébelliau. But what I would especially draw attention to is his summary of the remarkable change brought about by the *Histoire des Variations*. When Bossuet began to write, the Protestants admitted that variation was the sign of error. If he could now prove that the Protestant churches had varied, he hoped that, by mere force of logic, numbers of heretics would come flocking into the Church. His adversaries could not deny that he had established his thesis. But what did they do? Just what so many other disputants do when in similar straits. To speak in the language of the schools, when they found that the minor was proved against them, they turned round and denied the major, which they had previously granted, or rather had strenuously contended for. They had formerly maintained that their faith was ever the same; now they began to boast of its glorious variety and freedom. Thus, after a discussion prolonged over a period of a century and a half, the Catholic party finally triumphed in the person of Bossuet, their champion. But, adds M. Rébelliau significantly, that victory was the beginning of their downfall. The logical mind of France, finding no resting-place between Rationalism and Rome, began to enter on that course which has ultimately led to the Agnosticism of to-day.

Among the multitude of writings [he says] there are few which go down to the roots of things, push their arguments to extremes, and put an end to unconscious misunderstandings and false conventions. But such books often had unforeseen results. Their mighty shock produces not only an immediate re-action but also far-distant undulations surprising to the author himself, overstepping his aims and at times opposing them. The *Histoire des Variations* seems to have brought about one of these ironical consequences. Without intending it, Bossuet has hastened on the formation of that simple, broad, and undefined Christianity which is to-day the religion of so many pious unbelievers—an unnatural sort of Christianity, no doubt, and one which the great orthodox champion would

hate with all the ardour of his submissive and precise faith—but which, at any rate in the decline or eclipse of supernatural beliefs, has the advantage of holding out to mystic aspirations and charitable good-will that peaceful communion of which they must ever stand in need (pp. 571, 572).

In this last sentence M. Rébelliau ventures beyond his province, and thereby incurs the one vote of censure which I feel bound to affix.

T. B. SCANNELL.

Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis. Edidit HENRICUS DENIFLE, auxiliante AEMILIO CHATELAIN. Paris: Typis Delalaine. 1889–1891. 2 Vols.

THE Rev. F. Henry Denifle,* the learned sub-archivist of the Holy See, assisted by M. Emile Chatelain, of the Library of the Sorbonne, for several years past has been occupied in collecting and editing the documents referring to the history of the University of Paris during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Two volumes are now before us, covering the period from A.D. 1200 to 1350. The far-reaching importance of such a work cannot be easily over-rated, since it is apt to throw new light on a period when the Alma Mater of Paris in the department of theological science occupied the first rank in Christendom. Besides, the science of theology, history in general, and specifically the history of the religious orders, becomes enriched by the editor's exhaustive research. To collect the documents of the archives of Paris, the British Museum, and the Vatican, where Fr. Denifle is especially at home, was only a preliminary step in the execution of his design. The vast materials had to be duly digested, submitted to the test of historical criticism, and clothed with copious annotations illustrating their value. Whatever may be the view we take of Fr. Denifle's work, it impresses us by its colossal grasp and claims for him our warmest admiration. Even a superficial glance at the index renders the reader familiar with numberless names of prelates and philosophers hitherto all but unknown. Of course Fr. Denifle had to make use of Bulacus as supplemented by Jourdain. But the works of these scholars become partly corrected, partly superseded, by his own. The documents as far as No. 1192 are arranged in chronological order, furnished by historical notes, and supplemented in each volume by excellent indices. We desire to single out for notice the two Introductions explanatory of the sources from which the documents are gathered, with a justification

* See DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1885, p. 450, for notice of F. Denifle's "History of Mediæval Universities."

of the historical method which the author has employed. These Introductions give ample scope to Fr. Denifle's vast learning in criticising various currents of mediæval thought in the domains of theology and philosophy. The student's attention may be drawn to the documents ranging from Nos. 200 to 354, relating to the rather acrimonious conflicts between the Masters of the University and the Friars. Although having their origin in personal views they very soon touched upon topics of doctrinal theology, since the opponents of the Friars made use in their warfare of the "*Evangelium æternum*" by smuggling therein, as Denifle very pertinently points out, not less than thirty-one errors, as shown in document No. 243. English scholars will do well to go carefully through the momentous documents connected with two prelates who shed peculiar lustre on the English Church. To Robert Kilwardby (of the Dominicans), Archbishop of Canterbury, we owe the censure of sixteen propositions, amongst which is included St. Thomas's doctrine "*de unitate formæ substantialis*" (No. 4, f. 4). The same censure was afterwards passed by John Peckham (of the Franciscans), also Archbishop of Canterbury. Peckham's letters leave no room to doubt (No. 5, s. 5) that these somewhat hasty censures contributed their share towards diminishing the good understanding between the Friars Preachers and the Friars Minor. In the second volume, in which the learning, method and accuracy of the first are maintained, we have presented to us the documents ranging from A.D. 1286 to 1350. To give the reader an idea of the labour undergone by Fr. Denifle in searching in the Vatican archives for the materials which enter into this volume, I may quote his remark that from this source alone "*pro Chartulario circa 8000 notas extraximus.*" In this volume the reader's attention will be claimed by the statutes of the University, the "*juramenta*" it tendered to its officials, and the influence it exercised on the relations between the students and the citizens of Paris. But the nearer we approach to the beginning of the fourteenth century the more evident become the signs of the gradual decline of the University. In the valuable Introduction Fr. Denifle devotes himself to the task of pointing them out. Besides undue relaxation of the ancient severity in distributing academical honours, the University contrived to recommend its most famous scholars to the Popes for bestowing on them honours and livings. This custom opened the door to avarice. Lastly, it is to be borne in mind that in the fourteenth century new universities were founded and endowed with the right of granting the *magisterium theologiæ*. These observations, briefly stated as they are, may perhaps serve to draw attention to a work which deservedly takes its place as one of the chief monuments of Catholic research.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Jesuiten-Fabeln. Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte. Von
BERNARD DUHR, S.J. 2 Auflage. Freiburg : Herder. 1892.

IN the DUBLIN REVIEW (Jan. 1892, p. 228) was noticed F. Duhr's work on Pombal. Scarcely a year has elapsed, and this indefatigable writer presents us with a bulky volume of not less than 832 pages. F. Duhr has widened his scope, and taken a standpoint as high as the Church. He deals with accusations and calumnies concocted by heretics, schismatics, or regalists, in the course of time against the Society of Jesus. The bibliography consulted by the author leaves nothing to be desired. The number of accusations he is successful in exploding amounts to not less than 34. It may be doubted whether Catholic England possess such a comprehensive criticism on "the Jesuitical Camarilla at the court of James II." as that which is presented on pages 167-191. The very first chapter, examining into the question whether the Society of Jesus was founded with the express intention of forming a bulwark against Protestantism, will immediately challenge the close attention of even those who are separated from him in religion. This book is of great value, and will render excellent service wherever the Society of Jesus may be attacked by their adversaries. B.

Lincoln Cathedral Statutes, arranged by the late Henry Bradshaw, with illustrative documents. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, M.A. Part I. *Liber Niger*, with Mr. Bradshaw's Memorandums, pp. xxiv. 468. London : C. J. Clay & Sons, Cambridge University Press, 1892.

TO Catholic readers few subjects can possess an interest so deep and fascinating as the life of the Catholic Church in this land before the Reformation. This life found its special focus and its fullest presentment in the Cathedrals and great religious houses which studded the country. The publication of archives pertaining to these stately homes of religion places us under a very deep debt of gratitude to the writers who have made the editing of these records a labour of love, and the debt is surely in no wise diminished when these writers are found amongst those who are not of the household of the faith. The first part of the valuable collection of documents classed as the "Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral" includes the "*Liber Niger*," and has been ably edited by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth for the Cambridge University Press. The editor has been able to incorporate in this volume several papers which have been prepared by the well-known and much regretted antiquarian writer, the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw.

The "Black Book" dates from the earlier part of the fourteenth century, and is still preserved in the library of Lincoln Cathedral. The volume before us contains the entire text of this MSS. as deciphered by Mr. Bradshaw during the years 1881-1883. It will be followed by a supplementary volume, in which will be given to the public transcripts of various collections of "Statutes and Consuetudines," some of earlier and some of later date than the *Liber Niger*.

Members of our Chapters at present existing in England may perhaps be interested—possibly even have their capitular ambition enkindled—in ascertaining the status of their predecessors in the thirteenth century. Lincoln, with York and Salisbury, it is well known, were the constitutional types and models of the other secular cathedral Chapters of England. In a memorandum prefixed to the text of the *Liber Niger* Mr. Henry Bradshaw embodies some results of his researches on this point in the following words (the italics are not his) :

Shortly before 1150 the new bishop of Lincoln (Robert de Chesney) had been persuaded to bestow upon his Chapter the fullest privileges which had been accorded to the Chapter at Salisbury by their founder, and this example was followed by other bishops both in England and Scotland. *No bishop, no archdeacon, no diocesan officer of any kind could henceforth lift a finger against any one, even a parishioner, living on this privileged ground. The Chapter-house was the one place in which the offender could be brought to account.* Immunities of this kind were granted by Bishop after Bishop, and confirmed by successive Popes, until by the middle of the thirteenth century even the Bishop's ordinary duty of visitation had come to be looked upon as an intolerable infringement of the rights of the Chapter. The Bishop certainly appointed the Canons and all the dignitaries, except the Dean, who was in most places elected freely by the Chapter, but with this the power of the Bishop seemed to reach its fullest limit. Certain kinds of statutes required, or at any rate received, the Bishop's assent, but as statutes were for the most part looked upon as a declaration of "the ancient custom of the Church," which there was no gainsaying, it is clear that during the whole of this period the Dean and the rest of the Chapter—if only they could work harmoniously together—would find little difficulty in carrying everything before them. (P. 36.)

No doubt the Bishops may have felt that, as human government goes, the "if" furnished in the last sentence ample grounds for reassurance that the exercise of their authority would not for any long time be left wanting a door as wide or open as any they need care for to enter into the capitular concerns, but the vigorous canonical status of the Chapter, and its significant confirmation by the Popes, singularly illustrates that cheerful feature of mediæval Church life, which constantly aimed at the diffusion and devolution of power, and showed in so many ways its fondness for corporate or conciliar methods in contradistinction to personal government.

Within the circle of its competence the Chapter was practically a parliament, and its statutes—expressions of unwritten custom—received the assent, or on certain occasions the seal, of the Bishop, very much as a parliamentary Bill becomes law on receiving the Royal Assent. In matters which purely concerned itself, the agreement of the Dean and Chapter was deemed to be sufficient.

The editor has furnished from the papers of Mr. Bradshaw a valuable *compte rendu* of the MSS. preserved at Lincoln, and these form a fitting, albeit a bulky, introduction to the text of the *Liber Niger*. The interesting question of the local order of seats in the ritual choir is also very fully discussed, and much light thrown upon the issue by comparisons with the order observed at various cathedrals in England and Normandy.

The *Liber Niger* itself, which dates from the fourteenth century, and receives some additions in the course of the following centuries, is the nucleus of this volume, and forms a charming record of cathedral life and practice in the olden time. Its contents may be roughly summarised by saying that it specifies the number and duties of the chief cathedral officials, as well as of the vicars and sacristans, and then describes in minute detail the order to be observed in the celebration of the High Mass and the singing of the Offices. It bears a general resemblance to the constitutions of Lanfranc or the constitutions of Hugh de Nonnant at Lichfield, and of that ordinal of Sarum which Dr. Rock appends to his "*Church of our Fathers*," and ascribes to St. Osmund, but which Mr. Bradshaw assigns to Richard le Poer. In its briefer compass and ceremonial aspect, we might say that the *Liber Niger* must have been to the canons of Lincoln much in its way what Dale or Martenucci is to the clergy in our own.

To minds that have tasted the delights of antiquarian and ecclesiological study the entire volume will be a mine of research, but even to general readers there are certain details which rise to the surface and give us a glimpse of the features which religion used to wear in the pre-Reformation period. Thus a vicar (a name often given to the substitute engaged by a non-resident canon to take his place in the cathedral services) was obliged on his admission to swear amongst other things (obedience to the Dean, of course) that he would "employ all diligence" to learn the lessons off by heart, or as the oath says "to know the lessons without a book." (The editor says "*matins*," but *historiae* I assume can only apply to a given class of lessons). He also swears that he will observe the rule which obliges him to "assist after the matins of the day at the matins of the glorious Virgin."

An episcopal decree of A.D. 1313 requires that the Chapter shall
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not admit the poor vicar until they have deputed three "competent and learned" vicars to examine him. The Bishop has evidently certain contingencies of collusion before his mind, when he insists that the examiners shall themselves be required to take a corporal oath to conduct the examination "faithfully without fraud or favour," and that the "candidate shall by no means receive an intimation beforehand of the matter on which they are going to examine him."

The corporate body of a Cathedral included a large number of persons of varied condition, from its head, the Bishop, down to the sacristans who swept the church and washed the sanctuary floor. It is refreshing to find how much of the spirit of fraternal and genial companionship bound together this great Cathedral family.

The Dean, on being installed, gave the kiss of brotherhood to the Bishop, who installed him, and then to all his brother Canons in due order. Thirty times a year he gave a great dinner—not a mere dole, but a "*honorificus pastus*"—to the choir and the vicar. Then, every Canon in his Sunday turn entertained—(the editor quotes from the present Archbishop of Canterbury's work, "The Cathedral")—nineteen of the under-officers of the staff at dinner. The religious motive of corporate charity which entered into such survivals of the *Agape*, may be gathered from the strange custom by which the invitations to those who were to dine with the canon celebrating on his turn were given during the singing of the *Te Deum* at Matins, or during the offertory at Mass. According to a passage which the editor quotes from the *Ordo Romanus* by Mabillon, it is clear that this practice of issuing the invitation during Mass (at the *Agnus Dei*) dates from the eighth century.

The fourteenth century was not an age of total abstinence, and the *Liber Niger* does what is, we suppose, the next best thing under the circumstances, when it is careful to regulate and hand down the order to be observed by the Canons in drinking. The *rationale* of its direction is not very clear, and was possibly based on the medical knowledge of the period. Drink is to be served three times during the dinner "*trina vice bibere debent*." Out of the three times thus allowed, wine and beer were to be taken in turn, but which of the two were to have the odd turn altogether depended upon the presence of "spices" (*species*). If spices were on the table, the order was to be *wine, beer, wine*; but if the spices were absent, the beer was in the majority, and the order was *beer, wine, beer*.

After dinner, the regulation prescribes that the Canon who was the host should escort his guests "to the gate." But always mindful of dignities, it hastens to add that if the host should be the Dean it

will be considered sufficient that he should accompany the Canons as far as "the door of the dining-hall."

We reach a more pathetic page of these ancient customs when we come to the part when one of this great family, so closely bound together by the memories of long years of the closest constant association of daily life, daily prayer, and mutual hospitality, came to the inevitable end of it all, and was laid upon his bed of sickness.

Then, the *Liber Niger* requires that the Dean shall visit him, and give him "the counsels for the health of his soul," and hear his confession, or give the required permission that any one whom the sick Canon himself chooses shall hear it.

If the patient gets worse, Extreme Unction is to be given. As the end draws nigh, the Dean, if the sick man so wishes it, is to assemble the Canons around the death-bed. They are to go in procession, carrying the Cross, with holy water and lighted candles, and having the bell rung before them. The Dean himself, or one of his fellow Canons, is to administer the last rites.

Then one by one they come before him, and the dying man gives the farewell kiss of brotherhood, first to the Dean, and then to each of his brethren.

When all is over they lay him out upon a bier in the house where he has died, and, joined by the cathedral choir, the Dean and Canons say beside the corpse the prayers for the departed.

After vespers they bring the body to the cathedral, and sing his dirge. All night long a Canon with others keeps watch over the body from near the stall which the deceased used to occupy. Until the dawn the watchers sing the office for his soul. Next day the Requiem Mass is sung with all solemnity at the High Altar. Finally, the Dean lays the body in its last resting-place. For thirty days afterwards the dirge and Placebo will be sung for him, and a mass said in the Chapter House, or if a fixed anniversary of some one else occur, at least in that mass will be added the collect, "Have mercy, O Lord, on the Canon deceased."

I have ventured to enumerate these details that Catholic readers may appreciate for themselves how much we owe to antiquarians like Mr. Bradshaw, and to editors like Mr. Wordsworth, for opening up the buried memorials of the time when, under the successors of St. Hugh, the glorious Sacrifice of the Altar and the joyous round of the Church's praise went forth day by day amid the pealing of the bells of "Our Blessed Lady of Lincoln."

J. M.

History of the Church in England from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Accession of Henry VIII.

By MARY H. ALLIES. Pp. 371. London: Burns and Oates.

THE great historian of the Church in England is still to be born. But when the fulness of time and knowledge is come we have no doubt that the man able to disentangle the web and gather the different threads together will be raised up. There are many points in our past history which are still enveloped in darkness, others concerning which the light is only breaking upon us, and others, again, throbbing with the heat of controversy which await decision.

Questions of religious history are now to the fore in the controversy between Catholic and Protestant. The venue of the trial has been transferred to a large extent from doctrine to history. Continuity with the ancient Church is claimed by the followers of those who three hundred years ago rejected her, and who thirty years ago would have shuddered at the bare idea of being connected with her. The married prelate throned in Canterbury—who obeys Parliament and rejects the pope, who recognises as his brother-bishops the Bishop of Lincoln and the Bishop of Liverpool—would fain have us believe that he is the representative and successor of St. Dunstan, St. Anselm, and St. Thomas à Becket; whilst Archbishop Vaughan is the mere leader of a new Italian mission. We Catholics are thus driven to trace our pedigree and to fight for our inheritance. This little work by Miss Allies comes most opportunely to hand as a pleasant storehouse of reliable information upon the subjects in dispute. The book is, above all, handy. It is brief without falling into baldness or obscurity; it is based on the best authorities, and they are cited in all important matters. Not the least interesting feature is the way in which the facts are marshalled, described, and reviewed. Dismissing in a single introductory chapter the scant information we possess concerning the British Church, the work is divided into two periods—(1) from the coming of St. Augustine to the Norman Conquest; (2) from the Norman Conquest till the accession of Henry VIII. Attention is shown throughout to Freeman's doctrine of the Continuity of History. The narrative flows smoothly on, telling of the coming of St. Augustine, the gradual conversion of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and their union under the See of Rome when politically they were as far as the poles apart. The second period is less easy and less pleasant reading, though not less interesting. A new aspect comes over the story. The Church was knit together, purified and learned and powerful. She became the envy of kings. A long struggle began. Laws and rights were traditionary and ill-defined. Complaints of encroachment were

brought forward on both sides. Miss Allies is throughout a trusty guide. In the chapter dealing with Henry II. and St. Thomas à Becket, she strikes a happy parallelism with the troubles of more recent times by the title "*Culturkampf*."

Everything of importance in this long struggle finds a place. The facts are briefly but clearly stated. Nothing is suppressed or minimised. Grosseteste's opposition to the Papal collections and provisions is as fairly stated as St. Thomas's resistance to Henry Curtmantle. The humanising and civilising influence of the Church upon the nation is unmistakable. It was from their unity of faith and of ecclesiastical government that the jarring kingdoms of the Heptarchy learnt the lesson of political unity. The first Saxon statesman who pursued a national in opposition to a local policy was St. Dunstan. And later, when the people were ground down by their Norman oppressors, they were encouraged to resist by the examples of St. Anselm and St. Thomas.

The old familiar stories of St. Gregory and the Saxon slaves, the Easter Controversy, and the idyllic life of St. Bede lose none of their charm in the hands of Miss Allies. St. Wilfrid, St. Dunstan, St. Thomas, and Bishop Grosseteste are all set in their true light, and the use and abuse of Provisions and *Præmunire* are clearly stated. The absence of all controversial tone and methods is another recommendation of this book. We have no doubt that it will thus, as a plain, unvarnished tale, find its way and carry conviction to many minds which would almost instinctively suspect, if not altogether avoid, a work of controversial nature.

We cordially recommend this work to all, especially to those who have but a limited time at their disposal, and who wish to obtain a comprehensive view of the history of the Church in England. We trust that Miss Allies will complete the work and bring it up to date; and if we might so far presume we would venture to express the further hope that Miss Allies may see her way to oblige English Catholics with a translation of Dr. Felten's excellent life of Bishop Grosseteste.

J. B. MILBURN.

A Menology of England and Wales ; or, Brief Memorials of the ancient British and English Saints, arranged according to the Calendar : together with the Martyrs of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Compiled by Order of the Cardinal Archbishop and the Bishops of the Province of Westminster. With a Supplement. By RICHARD STANTON, Priest of the Oratory, London. Pp. xvii—811. London : Burns and Oates. 1892.

THE appearance of a second edition or re-issue of a valuable book is an opportunity for the reviewer to mention it again, and to bring it afresh to his readers' notice. Few books deserve to be thus kept before the mind of the public as much as Father Richard Stanton's admirable *Menology*. It betrays in every page conscientious labour, sound critical judgment, careful accuracy, and a spirit of devotion. Those who have occasion to consult the book to help in their historical studies are charmed by the care with which the references are given for each life. The amount of labour and time saved by trustworthy references to Calendars, Martyrologies, Legends, Histories, Acts, and other books will make students for many a generation grateful to Father Stanton. The book may be looked to as a dictionary when questions arise respecting the English saints. The other day, for instance, the correspondent of a Catholic newspaper answered an inquiry as to the last canonized English saint, by the suggestion that it was St. John of Bridlington, who died in 1379. From Father Stanton we learn that "Molarus, in his first edition of Usuard's *Martyrology*, says that St. John was canonized by Pope Boniface IX., but it would seem to be an error, as the statement is withdrawn in the later editions, and it is nowhere else to be found." The translation of the saint's relics that took place in 1404 may have been, and probably was, ordered by the Pope. St. John's family name, we learn from the Supplement, was Thweng, and we are led to wonder whether he was of the same stock that gave us two of our martyrs.

The re-issue of the *Menology* which justifies our present notice is not exactly a second edition, but it largely exceeds the original edition in value, as it contains a supplement of some 70 pages, giving us the last results of Father Stanton's care in the shape of "Notes and other additions." Much inconvenience does not arise from their not being incorporated in the body of the book, because the index has been enlarged to include them, and thus when looking out any name the reader's attention is at once called to the new as well as to the old information respecting it.

In the Supplement notice is taken of the representations of the

early English martyrs in the paintings of the English College at Rome, a point of immense importance for those who are not mentioned in the Roman Martyrology. One of these is St. William of Norwich, the child martyr, like his companion, so to call him, little St. Hugh of Lincoln. It is said that we have no feast or other religious commemoration of these two dear young martyrs, and perhaps they require a confirmation of their *cultus* by the Holy See. The pictures that have given us our *Beati* would be available for them also, and for a few others of the pre-Reformation times. Father Stanton has given the account of the original "Life of St. William," now belonging to Cambridge University, which was published in the *Athenæum* by Dr. Jessopp. Will no one publish this Life? It would be a boon.

The "Acts of English Martyrs," recently published by Father Pollen, S.J., are all carefully referred to by Father Stanton. None but the Blessed and Venerables find place in the *Menology*, and we must hope that the day may not be far distant when a large addition to their numbers may make a fresh issue of the *Menology* necessary. Meanwhile we commend the book, not only to the student of English ecclesiastical history, but still more earnestly to the devout souls who long to know something of the holy men and women who have sanctified the land in which we dwell.

The Dialogues of Plato, translated into English, with Analyses and Introductions. In Five Volumes. 8vo, pp. 594-645-576-543-361. By B. JOWETT, M.A., Master of Balliol College. Third Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1892. £4 4s. 0d.

THIS is the third edition of a work which has become classic. Professor Jowett's Plato is the outcome of many hands and many minds, representing the thought and scholarship of modern Oxford—of the Oxford which has turned from Newman to Pattison, from Butler and Aristotle to Darwin and Hegel, and from Hegel himself to the misty scepticism characteristic of a period of dissolution such as the English universities are now passing through. As regards the version from the Greek, we may observe that it does not pretend to be quite literal, much less "over-precise;" it would, perhaps, have satisfied Dryden when he said "Translation, therefore, is not so loose as paraphrase, nor so close as metaphrase;" and, in point of refinement, ease, and copiousness, it will certainly give the general reader and man of the world an impressive, though never an adequate, conception of how the "last of the poets" handled his Attic style. Professor Jowett shows, more than once, a reminiscence

of Cardinal Newman, which is greatly to the credit of master and disciple. They belonged, however, to the same school by training and tradition; the genuine Oxford manner has ever been *lenis minimeque pertinax*—felicitous by instinct, studiously unaffected, and more than slightly recluse. Various passages in the "Apology," in the "Republic," and even in such technical dialogues as the "Parmenides" and the "Thætetus," might have been rendered by the great Oratorian. They have the simplicity and the exquisite politeness which he prized in writing, and they persuade by their own charm. If it is the object of a translation to be most agreeable reading, Professor Jowett has succeeded. He cannot make a popular favourite of Plato, especially not in England, where Platonism has never flourished. But in this pleasant shape he can make him accessible to as many as, without knowing their Greek too well, are desirous of exploring his famous pages and of walking in their light. For the elucidation of mere grammatical puzzles or of difficult texts we must perhaps look elsewhere.

But in Catholic seminaries the Greek of Plato will be less thought of than his philosophy. Can we recommend Professor Jowett to them? To the students who are going through their apprenticeship, we feel bound to say no; to the masters yes, if what they desire is to make a diagnosis of current metaphysics. Professor Jowett is the "Liberal" philosopher and theologian *par excellence*. Nothing he dislikes so much as "dogma and controversy." A clear outline frightens him. The principle of contradiction he cannot away with, and definition he will not abide. In these elegant but most unsatisfactory comments on a text that is not always too clear, he questions, surmises, hesitates, swings lightly from affirmative to negative and back again, but ends with Montaigne's sceptical balance, and a *Que sais-je?* tempered still by a hope that all will be at length for the best. He is vague, diffuse, and *dilettante*, reducing the science of things and thought to a belief in "the Idea of the Good," and evading the discussion of their objective value by talking of "history" and "origins." Sainte-Beuve has quoted somewhere the well-known writer who said, "*Je suis assez profondément sceptique pour ne pas craindre par moments de paraître Chrétien.*" There is a touch of this odd sort of impartiality in the volumes we are reviewing. Professor Jowett is severe upon Hume, and Kant, and the Utilitarians. He knows that the "lower philosophy" which Materialists have preached is sure to lapse into the "lower life." Hume's assault upon the idea of causality was "crude and unmeaning;" Berkeley fell a victim to his own delusions; Kant, in the true spirit of the eighteenth century, disregarded the history of the forms of thought to

which he attributed an overweening jurisdiction; and the modern inductive philosophy, which reposes altogether on the idea of experience, has forgotten to ask what experience means. This is admirable and quite to the point. Nor shall we quarrel with Professor Jowett when he calls psychology "this very inexact science," meaning thereby that the empirical statements of which so many books are at present full must be taken *cum grano salis*, and are very seldom gospel. To strike a blot in the systems of to-day or yesterday, is not difficult, and the sceptic who only criticises Kant's "Critique" and Mill's "Utilitarianism" will be thus far doing mankind a service. But are we never to pass from an invertebrate and piecemeal questioning to affirmations of which life stands in need, and which shall be equal to the strain laid upon them?

The Master of Balliol prays to be delivered from the tyranny of "abstractions." We understand him, and we too hold that abstractions which are not constantly referred to the realities on which they have been founded, may easily become idols of the den and even of the market-place. Yet, can we satisfy our religious cravings on a mere dish of skimmed milk, such as "the Idea of the Good," which is the sum of the doctrine offered us by Professor Jowett? His Plato does not lead up to Christianity, although, with a sure instinct, Christians have discovered in the "Republic" the "Laws," the "Gorgias," and the "Timæus"—to mention only these—affinities, or even prophetic hints, of the life as well as the teaching that pervades the Church. They may have argued from pseudo-Platonic writings, like the "Second Alcibiades," and pressed unduly coincidences which were simply fortuitous. Yet has not their instinct assigned to Plato his true historical significance in the train of the Old Testament prophets, to whom he bears witness, though unacquainted with them? As a matter of fact, Plato has ever been for Christians a *locus theologicus*, and the elements which in him were abstractions have become under the guidance of the Spirit concrete and world-wide realities in a Communion which he did not foresee. This, which is the historical method of viewing Platonism, gives likewise the key to its philosophy. The "Republic" is a far-off glimpse of the Communion of Saints—that "best polity" for which no mere "secular and enlightened" government can be a substitute. But the secret of the later Dialogues, constructive as they are instead of analytic, and occupied with the "abiding city" which was their author's ideal, is not to be found in Professor Jowett, who falls back upon his abstractions with capital letters, his Good and Fair and True, when he should be telling us how the New Testament—the Church, we mean, not the dead Book—has established among men

the living and present Christ in whom they are realised, and by whom they are made our daily bread.

Plato, then, if dealt with in this manner, is edifying, but his commentator, in the growing eclipse of faith, tends to unsettle the reader's thoughts. The text will do us no harm, provided that the usual safeguards in handling Pagan authors are taken. But Professor Jowett requires not a little sifting; and the surest of tonics, if we must study him, is a strong dose of St. Thomas Aquinas. The Catholic mind has this notable resemblance to the Greek, that it desiderates a clear artistic presentation of objects, and believes in the power of intellect to deal with its materials. It suspects that haze and sophistry are akin. It will not allow that in questions of eternal life there is nothing for us to do but ask and ask, and never get an answer. It cannot be persuaded that so many centuries of Christian thought have ended in the *cul-de-sac* where Professor Jowett sits down, resigned if not contented, and mildly assuring us that controversies about "substance, nature, and person," or "faith, grace, and justification," or "revelation, inspiration, and the like," have been "about words of which they"—that is to say, religious parties—"could have given no explanation, and which had really no distinct meaning." Such an end of controversy as is suggested in these half-sentences, no Christian who is not of the company of Gibbon can admit. According to this accommodating "Liberalism," Arian was as good as Trinitarian, Nestorian no more mistaken than Catholic, and Calvinist as likely to be in the right as Arminian—for all were wandering in the same fog. It is worth while to remember that the "dogma" against which Professor Jowett raises his voice is not this kind of dogma or that, but any and all kinds. With him to define is to pervert the truth, and Christianity is a Chaos not a Cosmos. There is no rule of faith, as there can be no definite first principles of thought. He has learnt the organic unity of reason from Hegel; but when you ask him upon what method it proceeds, or by what axioms it is governed, there seems to be no word in his mouth. One is tempted to imagine that on the Professor's view, the ideas of "God, Conscience, and Immortality" are their own proof, and known to us by intuition. But who can say whether he has any view? For his strongest affirmations are hardly more than negative. He will not be a materialist, or an Epicurean; he would fain think of mind "in the noblest and simplest manner;" and he is sure that "nearly all the good (as well as some of the evil) which has ever "been done in this world, has been the work of enthusiasts and idealists, of apostles and martyrs." He knows,

indeed, where the motive power has been ; but he does not share in it, nor can he communicate any portion of it to those who ask him.

These things are instructive, but they suggest that the Professor's Commentary on Plato is not for the young or the unsettled. It has, once in a way, pathetic and even nourishing sentences, too seldom, however, to undo the harm of its subtle and dissolving doubt. The rhetoric of mere aspiration is no match for the energy of unbelief. When we compare the rapidly-growing propaganda, whether of Socialism or of Anarchism, with this languid acceptance, or shadow of acceptance, of what was once the Christian creed, we feel that Oxford, like Athens in the old age of Plato, has yielded herself up to a scholastic and holiday literature which will hardly stand the fire. It has faith neither in God nor man, but in the college intellect—a poor thing at the best, and now of less avail than ever. The wild beast of Plato's "Republic" must be tamed by a mightier charm.

But for disputation, and as a corrective to much unreal and superficial dogmatism, as furnishing material for the critic in the lecture-room, and as a living instance of what is meant by liberal Christianity, Professor Jowett will have his uses. Plato himself, who is dogmatic wherever his method allows of it, and increasingly as the Dialogues go forward, will always be found stimulating ; nor must we judge him through the haze which his translator has shed over his pages, but in the text, and without reference to these sometimes misguiding notes. We shall do well to bear in mind that for Catholics he has been interpreted by St. Augustine as well as St. Thomas, and that the immortal parts of his teaching have long since been incorporated in our literature. His value for religion as for humanity at large we do not need to learn from this Oxford translation, attractive and readable as it commonly is. But the ideal strain in him, which should be an antidote to scepticism and other poisons of the modern intellect, is greatly enfeebled by a treatment that dissipates his most profound teachings into luminous mist. The prophet of the Kingdom of God, who, by a peculiar dispensation, was sent to Athens and Alexandria, is only caricatured when agnostic sermons are preached on his all but inspired texts.

The Manna of the Soul : Meditations for Every Day in the Year. By FATHER PAUL SEGNERI. Second Edition. In 2 volumes 8vo, pp. 562 and 732. Burns and Oates.

FATHER SEGNERI is best known by his "Lenten Discourses," but this lesser work is fully as deserving of attention, and should reach even a wider circle.

The author begins by a preface full of practical advice and exhortation, in which he points out the utility of daily meditation and the most advantageous method of practising it.

The meditations are short, occupying on an average scarcely three pages; and each is divided into three or sometimes four points. They are so full of practical suggestion and thought, however, that any mind accustomed to reflection will find abundant matter in any one of them for an hour's meditation. The subjects are varied, and cover almost the whole range of the spiritual life; while they are so interspersed one with the other, that the mind is relieved from the fatigue so often experienced by those who pursue the same line of thought for several weeks or days together. A noticeable feature in the writings of Padre Segneri is his love of Holy Scripture. Every meditation in these two volumes is based upon some sentence from the inspired volume. This he sets before the reader, and assists him to understand, to consider, to analyse, and to turn over and over again, till he has extracted all the virtue that it contains, and all the lessons that it teaches. Sometimes the interpretations of these inspired words of Holy Writ are not only very apt, but very ingenious and striking, showing the penetration of the author's mind, as well as its versatility. This system of hanging all his deductions and injunctions upon the very Word of God has a satisfying and convincing effect which is excellent. Another quality of these meditations, which is much in their favour, is their practical character. The author is not as one beating the air. What he says has a distinct bearing upon daily life and conduct, on duty, social relations, position in life, and personal character, all of which in turn are examined and inquired into. Take as an instance the meditation for the thirteenth day of February. It is on the words from the Book of Proverbs: "*He that nourisheth his servant delicately from his childhood, afterwards shall find him stubborn.*"

I. Consider first that the servant here spoken of is thy body. Thou hast here, therefore, the rule laid down by which thou must govern it. Thou must treat it like a servant; that is to say, thou must nourish it, but not delicately. If thou dost not nourish it, it will grow faint; but if thou nourish it delicately, it will grow insolent. In truth the only

reason of thy giving it nourishment is to enable it to serve thee, to watch, to go to different places, to bear fatigue, and in various ways to work for the profit of thy soul. Yet, how often hast thou nourished it simply for the sake of nourishing it? This is not what a master would do. Show thyself the master, and therefore, upon occasion, remind thy body that it is but a servant; if it suffer cold and hunger, let it be patient. Do not these things belong to its lowly condition?

II. Consider, secondly, the great injury that will accrue to thee if thou dost rear this servant too delicately. Thou shalt find it to be contumacious; or, in other words, unwilling, stubborn, and disobedient. How art thou ashamed if a servant, on receiving an order from thee, dares to tell thee in public that he will not obey thee? A like shame will be thine from this servant. Thy body will not prove contumacious *whilst* thou art engaged in caressing it; then, indeed, it will promise thee great things. It will say that if thou dost treat it kindly it will be the better able to toil for thee, that it will be able to furnish thee with more of the spirit of prayer; that it will watch, that it will go here and there, that it will do whatsoever thou desirest. But believe it not, for it will prove contumacious; not indeed whilst thou art caressing it, but afterwards. Shouldst thou afterwards wish to make it work hard, it will vehemently resist. Therefore let no allurements of any kind induce thee to caress it: such is the teaching of the saints.

Then he goes on to a third point, wherein he develops his thesis yet further.

The book is printed in good, pleasant type, and the translation is well done; so that altogether we are glad to welcome this new edition of a well-known and valuable spiritual book. J. S. V.

The Creed Explained; or, an Exposition of Catholic Doctrine. By the Rev. ARTHUR DEVINE, Passionist. 8vo, pp. 484. London: Washbourne. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1892.

THIS is a well-meant attempt to place before lay persons the doctrines of the Church with a somewhat fuller exposition than is found in ordinary explanations of the Catechism. The book treats of Faith, of the Creeds, and of the various articles of the Apostles' Creed, giving a fairly complete course of dogmatic teaching. It has the *imprimatur* of the Diocese of Westminster, and will be useful to the ordinary Catholic or inquirer; but it might have been better done.

The Spirit of St. Ignatius. Translated from the French of Father XAVIER DE FRANCOISE, S.J. (Quarterly Series). 8vo, pp. vii-440. London: Burns & Oates. 1892.

THIS is a valuable and welcome manual. It contains the thoughts, feelings, words and actions of St. Ignatius collected and arranged under headings. Thus we have his ideas on

Faith, Humility, Love, Obedience, Poverty, the Religious State, the Blessed Eucharist, and twenty other subjects. The translation is apparently good and faithful. There are no references to the places where the various citations are to be found. These, as the translator informs us, are given in the original French work, to which, he says, it is easy to have recourse. There are, however, one or two passages of which we should be glad to consult the context. When St. Ignatius is made to say, crudely, "Outside the Church there is nothing good" (p. 1), the words as they stand require qualification.

The Leading Ideas of the Gospels. By WILLIAM ALEXANDER, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. A new edition, revised and greatly enlarged. 8vo, pp. xxxi-329. London: Macmillan and Co. 1892.

THOUGH the study of the harmony of the Gospels is full of difficulty, and no system hitherto devised is altogether satisfactory, yet there is such charm about the differences between the four imperfect portraits of Our Lord that (speaking with all reverence) we would not willingly exchange them for a full-length picture by a single inspired artist. Those "Gospel Narratives," in which an attempt is made to combine the various materials into one story, always remind us of the composite photographs now so much in fashion. The features of each separate picture are lost, the outlines are vague, and the whole result unlike anything real. It is surely a better way not to slur over these distinctive traits, but to bring them out and make them the objects of a special study. Nowhere does the human element in inspiration play so important a part as in the Divine records of our Lord's life. We cannot fully enter into these unless we carefully examine the characteristics of each writer, the point from which he considered his Divine subject, the circumstances under which he composed his work, and the end which he set himself to attain. These are the points which Dr. Alexander treats of in the truly admirable book named at the head of this notice. He does not undertake to discuss the difficulties raised by the higher criticism. A believer himself, he writes for believers. He takes for granted that Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John actually wrote the Gospels now in our hands. Yet he incidentally touches on many disputed questions, and deals with the critics in a most satisfactory fashion. After laying down and explaining the general principle, that "the Gospels are informal memoirs, written from and pervaded by certain leading ideas," he goes on to speak of each of the Evangelists in turn, and to discover which were the leading ideas under

which each one wrote. The study of St. Luke's characteristics is the fullest, and is marked by great ability. Under the guidance of these ideas the narratives of the Passion are then examined, and much light is thrown on the story and on the leading ideas themselves. Lastly, the author shows how each of these ideas can be found in all the Gospels, though they are *leading* ideas in some particular one only. The following passages—truly Baconian in their conciseness, and surely deserving to be chewed and digested—will give the best account of the contents and scope of Dr. Alexander's work.

There was lodged in the memory of the original apostles and disciples a treasury of recollections. The works, the discourses, the personality of Jesus Christ were then in abundant fulness. As time passed, and a written record of those momentous years became necessary, the Evangelists selected such actions and sayings as brought out certain aspects of the Lord's ministry, purpose, character, and teaching. Each Gospel is arranged round one centre, or at least round a few central points. This particular aspect, this grouping point, or principle of selection, is the leading idea of the Evangelist (p. 3).

In St. Matthew we have Christ's earthly existence as a life freely moulding itself in a *predestinated* form; in St. Mark as a *strong* life; in St. Luke as a *tender* life; in St. John as literally a *Divine* life. In the first we see Jesus as the Messiah; in the second, as the Son of God; in the third, as the Son of Man; in the fourth, as the God-Man. With St. Matthew, the chief factor is the conception of prophecy; with St. Mark, the conception of power; with St. Luke, the conception of beauty; with St. John, the conception of Divinity. In the first, the predominant elements are fulfilment and sacrifice; in the second, action and conquest; in the third, forgiveness and universal grace; in the fourth, idealism and dogma. St. Matthew will ever appeal most powerfully to the Old Testament scholar; St. Mark to the ecclesiastical organiser, to him who is attracted to the outward things of Christ; while St. Luke has a voice of alarm for the imaginative and tender; and St. John supplies the chosen food of the mystic and of the sacramental instinct. If we look round upon Christendom, we shall find more of one evangelist than of another in each of its tendencies and creations. St. Matthew must always be our chief guide through the Hebrew porch of the Church. St. Mark's spirit is with those who have fitted outward symbols to the Church's organic life as expressive of inward ideas. St. Luke has the largest part in the galleries of sacred art, in the utterances of sacred poets, in the austere joy of canticles and liturgies, with missionaries, with workers in hospitals, with those who are devoted to the service of poverty and the help of penitents. St. John has the largest share in the vast volumes of dogmatic theology. From him principally faith learns the mystery of the New Birth of water and of the Spirit; the sweet and awful secret of the sacramental Presence (pp. 10, 11). This four-fold delineation meets the wants of the Church and of humanity. St. Matthew addresses that Hebrew element which will never quite pass away. St. Mark rather responds to a certain Roman element in our race. . . . Of St. Luke's connection with the Hellenic temperament we have already spoken at large. St. John answers to the claims of religious reflection; to the wants of those who *think* as well as *pray*. The Church must be vertebrate; she needs an organization and a theology. In St. John she finds the great dogmas of the Gospel, the theology of the Incarnation and of the Cross (pp. 279, 280).

T. B. S.

Logic and Mental Philosophy. By Rev. C. COPPENS, S.J. 8vo, pp. 186. New York : Catholic Publication Co.

FATHER Coppens, in his little volume of 186 pages, has fully carried out his aim to give "a brief outline of sound philosophy." The only fault we might point out is that, in parts, it would seem a little too brief. Apart from this the teaching is clear, orderly, and exact; and, what is of great consequence, thoroughly loyal to the scholastic doctrine.

G. R.

Grammar and Logic. By J. W. F. ROGERS. 8vo, pp. 211. London : Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co.

WE have before us a second edition of Mr. Rogers's Grammar and Logic in the Nineteenth Century. In the third part of this work, that devoted to the "Structure of Propositions," the author endeavours to refute the tripartite theory as taught by Whately, Hamilton, Mansel, Mill, and other leading logicians. His criticisms upon these writers are always interesting and often keen; and though we cannot say his arguments have demonstrated the untenableness of that theory, yet they deserve to be studied by all who are thoroughly interested in grammar and logic.

G. R.

Curiosities of Christian History prior to the Reformation. By CROAKE JAMES, author of "Curiosities of Law and Lawyers." 8vo, pp. 520. London : Methuen and Co. 1891. 7s. 6d.

THE mantle of D'Israeli, "il Curioso," has obviously fallen on the shoulders of Mr. Croake James. In an interesting work of some five hundred pages, broken up into fifteen chapters, and about one thousand paragraphs with headings, we have a teeming supply of legends and anecdotes about martyrs, hermits, anchorites, relics, monks, nuns, Pagans, Jews, popes, emperors, kings, fathers of the Church, monks preaching, monks fasting, monks praying, monks famous, and monks otherwise, monasteries, abbots, inquisitors, crusaders, pilgrims, churches, cathedrals, a vast storehouse of quaint customs and legendary histories, culled from all quarters, chronicles, annals, histories, and biographies. Of course it is natural with a writer who is not a Catholic—and before you go very far in Mr. James' book you are driven to that conclusion by a series of mild shocks—to be here and there out of sympathy with that phase of Catholic feeling that developes into pilgrimages, &c., and which was the guiding element affecting all those grand old souls who figure on his pleasant pages. But, all told, Mr. James is a sympathetic *raconteur*

of quaint things. His tolerance is praiseworthy, so that when we come to rough ground, like the Inquisition, we can hardly get beyond a good-natured expostulation. Of course the book is not a history, nor does Mr. James intend it to be. We regret that he is behind time so far as to make considerable capital out of the false decretals, and that he ranges himself, although not ostentatiously, against the Church in such matters as the Iconoclast heresy. And our surprise reaches a still higher point when we read as follows, on page 105, regarding the death of Julian the Apostate: "But the most trustworthy accounts state that he died in 363 without remorse, *as he had lived without guilt*, and delivered an impressive address to his friends, submitting with dignity to the stroke of fate." Died beautifully with his philosophic cloak around him. That blameless life is incompatible with the crimes laid to Julian's charge in the same paragraph (p. 104), to wit—denied Christianity when twenty, initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, adopted Pagan philosophy and morality, attempted to suppress Christianity and restore Judaism, plundered churches, robbing and trampling on the sacred vessels, and torturing priests, and blasphemed the Holy Redeemer of men. Mr. Croake James' pen would turn the grand Turk into a blessed innocent babe. It will succeed in deepening certain stains on the Protestant mind, and will (as far as read) popularise with readers who are not up to date in some historical errors of the vulgar kind. Educated Catholics will appreciate the many faithful pictures of the past in this handy five-minute volume, and will turn to solidier works for information on the many polemical points touched upon by the author. His good things so far outnumber his objectionable passages, that for the sake of the good we recommend the book, asking readers to keep their eyes open and not to pass by the few lines of preface where the author has made a wise philosophic reflection.

Books Received.

- The Layman's Day.** By P. Fitzgerald. 8vo, pp. 80. London : Burns & Oates.
- The Servite Manual.** A Collection of Devotions chiefly in honour of Our Lady of Dolours, compiled by the Servite Fathers. Small 8vo, pp. 488. London : Burns & Oates.
- The Holy Hill, a Toiler's Song.** By Rev. J. G. Gretton, S.J. 8vo, pp. 52. Roehampton : Manresa Press.
- The Faithful Guide.** Prayers and Devotions recommended to Catholic Youth. 8vo, pp. 264. London : Burns & Oates.
- The Little Martyr of Prague.** By Fr. Jos. Spellman, S.J. 8vo, pp. 146. London : Art & Book Co.
- Select Revelations of St. Bridget,** Princess of Sweden. 8vo, pp. 212. London : Art & Book Co.
- The Manna of the Soul.** By Segneri. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 562-732, London : Burns & Oates.
- Jesus the All-Beautiful.** By Rev. J. G. MacLeod, S.J. 8vo, pp. 356. London : Burns & Oates.
- The Sacramentals of the Catholic Church.** By Rev. A. A. Lambing. 8vo, pp. 356. New York : Benziger Bros.
- Analysis of the Gospels of the Sundays of the Year.** By Angelo Cagnola, translated by Rev. L. A. Lambert. 8vo, pp. 243. New York : Benziger Bros.
- A Primer for Converts, showing the Reasonable Service of Catholics.** By Rev. John T. Durward. Small 8vo, pp. 175. New York : Benziger Bros.
- The Great Enigma.** By W. S. Lilly. 8vo, pp. liv-349. London : John Murray. 14s.
- La Perception et la Psychologie Thomiste.** By M. Domet de Vorges. 8vo, pp. xi-282. Paris : Roger et Chernoviz.
- Dead Man's Diary.** By Coulson Kernahan. 8vo, pp. 218. London : Ward, Lock & Co.
- Charles Kingsley, Christian Socialist and Social Reformer.** By Rev. M. F. Kaufmann. 8vo, pp. 251. London : Methuen & Co. 5s.
- The Victorian Age of English Literature.** By Mrs. Oliphant and F. R. Oliphant, B.A. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 334-350. London : Percival & Co. 6s. each volume.

- Shakespeare's Tempest, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary.** By Rev. David Bain, M.A. 8vo, pp. 184. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1s. 6d.
- Harry Dee.** By Francis J. Finn, S.J. 8vo, pp. 284. New York: Benziger Bros.
- Spots in the Sun: Some Faults in "Hamlet" and "Paradise Lost."** By Rev. G. Bampfield, B.A. 8vo, p. 28. Barnet: St. Andrew's Press. 1s.
- Poems in Petroleum.** By John Cameron Grant. 8vo, pp. 168. Paper cover. London: E. W. Allen. 2s.
- A Defender of the Faith: the Romance of a Business Man.** By Tivoli. 8vo, pp. 420. London: Griffith & Farren. 3s. 6d.
- St. Thomas of Canterbury & St. Elizabeth of Hungary; a Drama in Five Acts.** By C. W. Barraud, S.J. 8vo, pp. 195. London: Longmans, Green & Co.
- A Shorter Working Day.** By R. A. Hadfield & H. de B. Gibbins, M.A. 8vo, pp. 182. London: Methuen & Co. 2s. 6d.
- Papacy, Socialism and Democracy.** By Anatole le Roy Beaulieu. 8vo, pp. xii-309. London: Chapman & Hall. 1892.
- History of Socialism.** By Thos. Kirkup. 8vo, pp. 301. London and Edinburgh. Adam & Charles Black.
- Sound and Music.** By Rev. J. A. Zahm, S.S.C., Professor of Physics at University of Nôtre Dame. 8vo, pp. 452. (Illustrated.) Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$3.50.
- Sermons on Subjects connected with the Old Testament.** By S. R. Driver, D.D. 8vo, pp. 232. London: Methuen & Co.
- Apologetics; or, Christianity Defensively Stated.** By Alex. B. Bruce, D.D. 8vo, pp. xvi-520. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 10s. 6d.
- Old Testament Theology.** By Dr. Hermann Schultz, Professor of Theology in University of Göttingen. Translated from German 4th Edition by Rev. J. Paterson, M.A. Oxon. Two vols. 8vo, pp. 438-456. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 18s.
- Thomas More.** By Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R. 2nd edition. 8vo, pp. xx-460. London: Burns & Oates. 7s. 6d.
- Saint Peter and the First Years of Christianity.** By the Abbé Constant Fouard. Translated by George F. X. Griffith from 2nd Edition. 8vo, pp. 415. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 9s.
- L'Ancien Clergé de France. I. Les Evêques avant la Révolution.** Par l'Abbé Sicard. 8vo, pp. 522. Paris: Victor Lecoffre.
- The Story of the Nations. The Tuscan Republics.** By Bella Duffy. 8vo, pp. 456. (Illustrated.) London: F. Fisher Unwin.

- The Jesuits in Poland.** Oxford Prize Essays. By A. F. Pollard, B.A. 8vo, pp. 98. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. London: Methuen & Co. 2s. 6d.
- Histoire du Breviare Romain.** Par Pierre Batiffol, du Clergé de Paris. 8vo, pp. 350. Paris: Alphonse Picard & Fils. 3fr. 50c.
- The Story of the Nations.** Sicily. By E. A. Freeman. 8vo, pp. 378. Map. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Somerset Religious Houses.** By W. A. J. Archbold. No. III. Cambridge Historical Essays. 8vo, pp. 407. Map. Cambridge: University Press.
- The Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary** (or Little Office) according to the Sarum Breviary, together with a Brief Commentary from the Mirror of Our Lady. Small 8vo, pp. 105 & 68. London: Percival & Co. 1892.
- Agnosticism. New Theology and Old Theology on the Natural and Supernatural.** By Rev. Jos. Selinger, Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Francis' Seminary. 8vo, pp. 79. Milwaukee: Hoffmann Bros.
- The Vicar of Christ.** By Rev. W. Humphrey, S.J. 8vo, pp. 100. London and Leamington: Art & Book Co. 2s. 6d.
- Confessio Viatoris.** By C. Kegan Paul. 8vo, pp. 66. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- De Censuris Latae Sententiae.** Auctore Sacerdote Eduardo Gonella. 8vo, pp. 198. Turin: Marietti, brochure.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL 1893.

ART. I.—THE PAPAL JUBILEE.

I. EARLY ENGLISH PILGRIMAGES.

THE Papal Jubilee and Roman Pilgrimages of 1893 are events which are bound to stand out as a landmark in the church history of this century.

The two events are structurally one.

For the pilgrimages from various lands may be regarded as so many lines radiating from the circumference of the Church to the Jubilee celebrated at its centre. Taken with its historical setting, this double event—presenting as it does a remarkable inflow of the Church upon its centre—is possessed of a deep significance, which harks back into the past and forward into the future.

Roman Pilgrimages and Roman Jubilees are not of yesterday. They are notes which cannot be struck without awakening the historic harmonies of a thousand years, and carrying the mind back through the Middle Ages to the very first beginnings of English Christianity. They make part of the historic connection of England with Rome, and in so doing they fit in with the whole frame-work of our national traditions.

I.

There is the initial fact that the English race owed the first beginnings of its Christianity to Rome. Christianity existed
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in this land before St. Augustine, but it was not English. Christianity came also with St. Aidan from the North—(we should call it Rome's arm reaching England by the longer way round)—but it was second, not first. The late Professor Freeman, who takes rank amongst the greatest of modern English historians, calls St. Bede "the father of English history," and St. Bede is to us a witness that the English Church in his day hailed a Roman Pope, St. Gregory, as "the Apostle of England." The Rev. F. C. Warren, an Anglican clergyman, well known for his researches in liturgical studies, states very plainly this truth when he says in the Introduction to his edition of "*Leofric's Missal*" (p. xxiv):

Roman in origin, owing her existence to the foresight of one of the greatest of Popes, and fostered at first by Roman missionaries and bishops, the Church of England had been constantly and loyally Roman in doctrine and practice. Her first Liturgical Books, as well as her vestments and church ornaments, came direct from Rome, being sent by Gregory to Augustine. Her Archbishops from the very first applied for and wore the Pall.

There is the fact that the first planting of the English Church was the work of a mission which went forth at the Papal word of command from that very Church on the Cœlian Hill, which with exquisite appropriateness has been passed on by Leo XIII. as a titular heritage to the English Cardinal.

There is the fact that the chiefest of English Sees—the very throne of the majestic English Primacy—was itself an offshoot from the Apostolic See of Rome, the "devoted daughter of the Most Holy Roman Church," as the Cathedral body of Canterbury styled it in 1313, in their letter to Pope Clement V. In truth the English Church was born of Rome with a Papal Pallium for her swathing-band.

Resting upon such a basis of fact and origin, the bond between England and the Holy See could hardly fail to be strong, and close, and enduring. It is indestructibly part of the fibre and structure of English history. This mutual relationship involved a plentiful intercommunication and a muchness of going and coming between Rome and this country. Our earliest missionaries turned Romewards, to seek renewed strength and solace at the tomb of the Apostles, and returned with not only fresh courage, but laden with a new equipment

of Church apparatus and furniture, and of privileges for their churches and monasteries. Kings, nobles, and commoners journeyed thither on pilgrimage, "for their soul's health," and "to visit Blessed Peter." Archbishops and bishops went there to confer with the Sovereign Pontiff and transact the business relating to their sees.

II.

In fact, St. Augustine had hardly laid the first foundations of the Church in England when our records present an instance of this recurrent reflux to Rome. St. Augustine despatched Laurence to Rome to acquaint the Pope with the progress he had made, and to ask for further guidance, and back from Rome came St. Gregory's answers, and with them as St. Bede tells us :

*Fellow labourers and ministers of the word, of whom the principal were Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Ruffinianus, and by them all things in general that were necessary for the service of the Church—viz., sacred vessels and vestments for the altars, also ornaments for the Churches and vestments for the priests and clerks, as likewise relics of the holy apostles and martyrs, besides many books. He also sent letters wherein he signified that he had transmitted the Pall to him, and at the same time directed how he should constitute Bishops in Britain.**

A few years later, and one of these new helpers, Mellitus, who had become Bishop of London, in his turn takes the road to Rome :

About this time (A.D. 605) Mellitus, Bishop of London, went to Rome to confer with Pope Boniface about the necessary affairs of the English Church.†

At a momentous crisis in 665, when there was a question of no less importance than that of providing a Primate for the English Church, the English kings Egbert and Oswy and the English Bishops could think of no better and simpler way than to send Wighard, the priest of their choice, to Rome to there receive episcopal consecration at the hands of the Pope. They "sent him to Rome to be ordained bishop, to the end that he having received the degree of Archbishop might ordain Catholic prelates for the Churches of the English

* St. Bede's Eccles. Hist. I. c. xxix.

† *Ibid.* II. c. iv.

nation throughout all Britain" (St. Bede, Hist. Ecc. II. c. xxix.).

When Wighard died at Rome, Pope Vitalian took the provision of an English Primate into his own hands, and no doubt seems for a moment to have crossed his mind that he was acting *ultra vires* in doing so. Nor upon the side of the English kings and bishops does there appear to have been a moment's hesitation in receiving the person, albeit a foreigner, whom the Pope had selected. On Sunday, the 26th March, A.D. 668, Pope Vitalian himself nominated, appointed, and consecrated Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury. This appointment by the Apostolic See was a fact of which Theodore himself appears to have been careful to remind the English bishops in one of the earliest councils which he held upon English soil: "I, Theodore, unworthy bishop of the See of Canterbury, appointed by the Apostolic See."*

III.

It is worthy of note that the ecclesiastic whose name stands out most luminously in the annals of the Anglo-Saxon period for sanctity, zeal, learning, and whose labours did more than most to mould the spirit and structure of the Anglo-Saxon Church is the one whom history has most identified with the love and practice of the Roman Pilgrimage.

Bennet Biscop was an indefatigable Roman Pilgrim. He was born in A.D. 628. He must have lived and spoken with some of the earliest of English Christians, for his grandfather—very possibly his father—was still living when St. Augustine first landed on our shores. He held the rank of Thegn under King Egfrith of Northumbria. He renounced the world at the age of twenty-five. In the same year, A.D. 653, he characteristically began his new life by a pilgrimage to Rome. Imbued with the spirit and discipline of the Roman Church, he returned to work for Christ in his native land. But after twelve years' missionary toil in 665 he started once more for the Eternal City. During this, his second pilgrimage, he visited the famous monastery on the island of Lerins, and became a monk. He came back from Rome with Archbishop

* At Council of Hertford, A.D. 673.

Theodore in A.D. 669, and brought with him as usual a rich supply of books and relics. For two years he lived and laboured with the monks of Canterbury. In 671 he made his third pilgrimage to Rome. He returned in the following year, but this time to his native Northumbria. Here his great desire was to found a monastery, and King Egfrith generously gave him a strip of land for the purpose at the place since called Monk-Wearmouth. Bennet built the monastery, and dedicated it—as we might expect he would—to St. Peter. Apparently, with Bennet, there was but one way of properly beginning or completing anything—a pilgrimage to Rome. As soon as he had finished the building of his monastery, taking with him Ceolfrid, his disciple and successor, he turned his steps for the fourth time to Rome. His object was to obtain the Papal sanction and privileges of exemption for his new foundation. He returned, successful as ever, and brought back not only his Bull of Exemption, but “the venerable John, Archchanter of the Church of the holy Apostle St. Peter, and Abbot of the monastery of St. Martin.” St. Bede lived in this very monastery while Bennet was its Abbot. Let him tell the tale :

For the said Benedict, having built a monastery in Britain in honour of the Most Blessed Prince of the Apostles, at the mouth of the river Wear, went to Rome with Ceolfrid, his companion and fellow labourer, who was after him Abbot of the same monastery. He had been several times before at Rome, and was now honourably received by Pope Agatho of blessed memory, from whom he also obtained the confirmation of the immunities of this monastery, being a Bull of Privilege, signed by Apostolical authority, pursuant to what he knew to be the will and grant of King Egfrid, by whose consent and gift of land he had built that monastery.

He then received the aforesaid Abbot John to be conducted into Britain, that he might teach in his monastery the method of singing throughout the year as it was practised at St. Peter's at Rome. The Abbot John did as he was commanded by the Pope, teaching the singers of the said monastery the order and manner of singing aloud and reading aloud, and committing to writing all that was requisite throughout the whole course of the year for the celebration of festivals, all of which are still observed in that monastery, and have been copied by many others elsewhere. The said John not only taught the brothers of that monastery, but such as had skill in singing resorted to him from almost all monasteries of the same province to hear him, and many invited him to teach in other places.

Besides singing and reading, he had also been directed by the Pope to

inform himself of the faith of the English Church, and to give an account thereof on his return to Rome (Hist. Ecc. iv. 18).

Thus the practical effect of Bennet's pilgrimaging was that the great monastery of St. Peter at Wearmouth, with its sister monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow, and the whole concert of neighbouring monasteries of Northumbria, were tuned to the ritual of St. Peter's at Rome. Nor did Bennet's movement confine itself to the English choirs. His friend, the Archchanter John, of St. Peter's, fulfilled what were virtually the functions of a Papal Visitor or Legate. He took a leading part in the Council of Hatfield in A.D. 680, which declared the faith of the English Church in the dignity of the Blessed Virgin "as Mother of God." And he was charged by the Council to carry to the sovereign Pontiff that assurance on this and other points which the Pope had required as to orthodoxy of the English Church.*

The mission of John, which had for its object to secure the conformity of the English Church psalmody to the Roman model—the Romanising or Ultramontanising of English worship, as it would be called in our days—did not end with his life or that of Bennet, just as it did not begin with them. It was a fixed element of the policy of the English Church, and nearly a hundred years later, in 747, we find it enforced by a canon of the Council of Clovesho.

In the 13th decree it is defined that in one and the same way the most holy festivals of Our Lord's coming in the Flesh in all things which rightly pertain to them, to wit, in the office of Baptism, in the celebration of Masses, in the method of chanting, shall be celebrated according to the model, namely, that which we have in writing from the Roman Church. And thus throughout the course of the whole year the festivals of the saints shall be kept on one and the same day, with the psalmody and chant appointed to them, according to the Martyrology of the same Roman Church.†

* Wherefore Pope Agatho, being desirous to be informed concerning the state of the Church in Britain, as well as in other provinces, and to what extent it was clear from the contagion of heretics, gave this affair in charge to the most Reverend Abbot John, then appointed to go to Britain. The Synod we have spoken of having been called for this purpose in Britain, the Catholic faith was found untainted in them all, and a copy of the same given to him to carry to Rome. . . . Though he died by the way, yet the testimony of the faith of the English nation was carried to Rome, and most agreeably received by the Apostolic Pope, and all those who heard and read it (Bede iv. 18.)

† Acts of Council of Clovesho. Haddon and Stubbs Ecclesiastical Councils, vol. iii., 367.

Bennet, in the construction of his monastery, rising above the ideals of his time and place, discarded the old system of wooden structure, and bringing stonemasons and artificers in glass from France, introduced a new era of art and architecture into England. He beheld his monastery completed, enriched with Roman books and relics, and chartered by a Papal Bull of Privilege, and heard it and the surrounding monasteries resounding with the chants of St. Peter's. Then once again the passion for pilgrimage was strong upon him. He must do for his second monastery, St. Paul's of Jarrow, what he had done for his first-born, St. Peter's of Monkwearmouth. Leaving Easterwin to preside over the one, and Ceolfrid to take charge of the other, Bennet took what must now have been to him the familiar road to Rome. As he journeyed along he could reflect with consolation how his two great monasteries, centres of religion, learning, and missionary zeal and civilisation, were singing the song of Rome in his native land. His was the mind of the man who felt that his life task was done, and that it only remained for him to close it fittingly by kneeling once more in thanksgiving at the tomb of the Fisherman. He knew that it must be his last pilgrimage, and he lingered long and lovingly at the shrines of the Eternal City. Then gathering together his usual freight of books and relics for his younger monastery, he hurried back to Northumbria, and a few years later was laid to rest in his church at Monkwearmouth which he had founded "in honour of St. Peter, the Blessed Prince of the Apostles."

Dr. Stubbs, the Anglican Bishop of Oxford, says no more than the truth when he describes Bennet as a man "of great sanctity, energy, and foresight," and one who, "as a promoter of learning and cultivation, stands far higher than Wilfrid," and adds :

The debt which England owes to Benedict Biscop is a very great one, and has scarcely ever been fairly recognised, for it may be said that the civilisation and learning of the eighth century rested on the monasteries which he founded, which produced Bede, and through him the school of York, Alcuin, and the Carolingian School, on which the culture of the Middle Ages was based.*

* Article "Benedict Biscop," by Dr. W. Stubbs, in Smith & Wace's "Dictionary of Christian Biography."

Even in these days of rapid and facile communications, and when the journey to Italy is a question of a few days, not many of us—excluding perhaps bishops who make the periodical visits *ad limina*—can say that we have been five times in pilgrimage to Rome. It is not easy for us, in this century of calmness and comfort, to estimate aright the fulness and strength of Catholic and Rome-loving fervour in the heart of the Anglo-Saxon Saint which prompted the making of the pilgrimage five times over—covering by sea and land some ten thousand miles!—and that when the enterprise meant a laborious and perilous journey of months' duration, often through hostile territories and through Alpine passes, where more than once pilgrims were devoured by wolves, where in later times an Archbishop-elect of Canterbury was frozen to death and an Archbishop of York was cruelly beaten and despoiled by robbers.*

The communion of saints blends together the present and the past in the fellowship of faith. When next the standard of Roman Pilgrimage is raised aloft in England, and when English Catholics rally beneath it to bear to the throne of Christ's Vicar the message of our faith and loyalty, it will not be too much to hope that amongst those heavenly patrons whom we invite from the Church Triumphant to look down upon our journey and accompany us by their prayers, a chief and leading place will be given to St. Bennet Biscop—the Saint of the Five Roman Pilgrimages—the founder of monasteries, and of schools of learning, the patron of church music, the promoter of Christian art and architecture, the venerated master of England's greatest historian, and one who, while labouring to build up the Church and the civilisation of his time, fulfilled, in the highest conception of the term, the function of a living and loving bond between Rome and England.

IV.

Besides the manifold pilgrimages of St. Bennet Biscop, with their formative and infusive influence upon the Church life of his period, there is another class of pilgrimages which stands

* Alsine, cf Canterbury (958) and Aldred of York (1060).

out in conspicuous relief from the annals of our Anglo-Saxon history.

They are the pilgrimages of the Kings.

The piety and Romanism of the Anglo-Saxon Church always can be gauged by the fact that no less than eight of its kings laid down their crowns to embrace the monastic life, and of these no less than four, after abdicating, went and ended their days at Rome. The eight kings were Ceolwulf of Northumbria, Sigebert of East Anglia, Ceadwalla of Wessex, Sebba of the East Saxons, Ethelred of Mercia, Cœnred of Mercia, Offa of East Anglia, and Ina of Wessex. Ceadwalla, Cœnred, Offa, and Ina went to Rome.

St. Bede thus describes the pilgrimage of Ceadwalla, or Peter, King of Wessex, who went to Rome to be baptised and to die there.

In the third year of the reign of Alfrid, Ceadwalla, King of the West Saxons, having most honourably governed his nation two years, quitted his crown for the sake of our Lord and His everlasting kingdom, went to Rome, being desirous to obtain the peculiar honour of being baptized in the Church of the Blessed Apostles. For he had learned that in baptism alone, the entrance into Heaven is opened to mankind, and he hoped at the same time, that laying down the flesh as soon as baptized, he should immediately pass to the eternal joys of Heaven: both of which things by the blessing of our Lord came to pass, according as he had conceived in his mind.

For coming to Rome, at the time when Sergius was Pope, he was baptized on the Holy Saturday, before Easter Day in the year of our Lord 689. And being still in white garments, he fell sick and departed this life on the 20th April and was associated with the Blessed in Heaven.

At his baptism, the aforesaid Pope had given him the name of Peter; to the end that he might be also united in name to the most Blessed Prince of the Apostles, to whose most holy body his pious love had brought him from the utmost bounds of the earth.

He was likewise buried in his Church, and by the Pope's command, an epitaph was written on his tomb wherein the memory of his devotion might be preserved for ever, and the readers or hearers might be inflamed with religious desire by the example of what he had done (Hist. Ecc. v. 7).

Caedwalla's epitaph, mentioned by St. Bede, was preserved in the porch of the old Basilica of St. Peter at Rome,*

* Sovereignty, wealth, kindred and kingdom; triumphs and spoils, nobles, cities, camps and home—all that the worth of ancestry had brought to him, and all that he himself had won,—Caedwalla, mighty in arms, gave up for the love of God, that he as a royal pilgrim might visit Peter and Peter's see:

The following is the copy of it, as given in Gruter's *Inscriptiones Antiquae totius Orbis Romani*, No. mclxxiv. :

CVLLEN OPES SOBOLEM POLLENTIA REGNA TRIUMPHAS
EXVBIAS PROCERES MAENIA CASTRA LARES
QVAEQVE PATRVM VIRTVS ET QVAE CONGESSERAT IPSE
CAEDOAL ARMIPOTENS LINQVIT AMORE DEI
VT PETRVM SEDEMQUE PETRI REX CERNERET HOSPE
CVIVS FONTE MERAS SVMERET ALMVS AQVAS
SPLENDIFICVMQUE IVBAR RADIANTI CARPERET HAVSTV
EX QVO VIVIFICVS PVLGOR VBIQUE FLVIT
PERCIPIENSQVE ALACER REDIVIVAE PRAEMIA VITAE
BARBARICAM RABIEVM NOMEN ET INDE SVVM
CONVERSVS CONVERTIT OVANS PETRVMQUE VOCARI
SERGIVS ANTISTES IVSSIT VT IPSE PATER
FONTE RENASCENTIS QVEM XRI GRATIA PVRGANS
PROTIVS ALBATVM VEXIT IN ARCE POLI
MIRA FIDES REGIS CLEMENTIA MAXIMA XRI
CVIVS CONSILIVM NVLLVS ADIRE POTEST
SOSPES ENIM VENIENS SVPREMI EX ORBE BRITANNI
PER VARIAS GENTES PER FRETA PERQVE VIAS
VRBEM ROMVLEVVM VIDIT TEMPLVMQUE VERENDVM
ASPEXIT PETRI MYSTICA DONA GERENS
CANDIDVS INTER OVES XRI SOCIABILIS IBIT
CORPORE NAM TVMVLVM MENTE SVPERNA TENET

V.

Ceadwalla's example was followed by his successor, King Ina. As a military leader, as a civil ruler and legislator, as a munificent founder of monasteries, and as a patron of learning, Ina ranks amongst the greatest of the Anglo-Saxon kings. Bede tells how after thirty-seven years spent in building up the greatness of Wessex, Ina (A.D. 725) in his turn became a pilgrim to Rome.*

there cleansed to draw the pure waters from his spring, and to drink with radiant draught the illuminating splendour from the source whence the life-giving light is shed over all places. Eagerly receiving the rewards of immortal life, himself converted, he changed his barbarous life and name, and as he gloried to be called Peter, the Pontiff Sergius, himself as Godfather, so ordered it. Him, whom the grace of Christ purified at the regenerating font, it carried forthwith in his white robes pure in the citadel of Heaven. Great was the faith of the King, but greater the mercy of Christ, whose counsels no mind can reach. For coming safely from the farthest part of the British world, through many countries by sea and land, he beheld the Roman city, and gazed upon the Sacred Temple of Peter, and brought the mystical gifts. Spotless he will walk in company with the flock of Christ. This grave contains his body, and Heaven his soul.

* Matthew of Westminster (Ann. 727) states that King Ina founded the English School at Rome with the approbation of Pope Gregory. William of Malmesbury (Hist. Kings, 109) says that the school was founded by King Offa and repaired by Ethelwulf.

When Caedwalla went to Rome, Ina succeeded him on the throne, and having reigned thirty-seven years over that nation, he gave up the kingdom in like manner to younger persons, and went away to Rome to visit the Blessed Apostles, at the time when Gregory (II.) was Pope, being desirous to spend some time of his pilgrimage on earth in the neighbourhood of the holy place, that he might the more easily be received into the saints of heaven.

In the words which follow, we have a remarkable testimony from St. Bede as to the frequency and popularity which the Roman Pilgrimage had obtained amongst English men and women of the eighth century.

The same thing, about the same time, was done through the zeal of many of the English nation, noble and ignoble, laity and clergy, men and women (v. 7).

The band of English pilgrims which left Victoria Station one morning last February, with its composition of peer and commoner, men and women, cleric and laymen, was in its way but a nineteenth-century reproduction of what St. Bede described as a characteristic of English zeal a thousand years ago.

Then we have the remarkable spectacle of two English kings going hand in hand as fellow-pilgrims to Rome, and with the still more remarkable sequel, that both renounce the world, and receiving the monastic habit, pass the remainder of their days in prayer and penance near the tomb of St. Peter.

Cænred, King of Mercia, had governed the great Midland kingdom for five years—A.D. 704–709. Bede devotes a chapter (v. 19) to telling how the king visited the deathbed of one of his nobles, and urged him to confess his sins, and to repent of them while it was not yet too late. The subsequent despair of the dying man and the frightful vision of his future doom only brings out in stronger relief the earnest zeal of the pious king. He signed the charter for the foundation of the famous Abbey of Evesham.* In 709 he resigned his crown, and accompanied King Offa to Rome.

Offa is described as a most popular king of the East Saxons. He is held to have ruled over that nation from about A.D. 695. Preferring a heavenly to an earthly crown, he renounced family, friends and kingdom, and went with Cænred to Rome, and with him was shorn as a monk by the hands of the Pope.

* Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 278.

St. Bede thus chronicles with some degree of admiration the pilgrimage and profession of the two kings :

In the fourth year of the reign of Osred, Cænred, who had nobly governed the kingdom of the Mercians, did a much more noble act by quitting the throne of his ancestors, and going to Rome, where, being shorn when Constantine was Pope, and made a monk at the relics of the Apostles, he continued to his last hour in prayers, fastings, and alms-deeds. . . .

With him went the son of Sighere, king of the East Saxons above mentioned, whose name was Offa, a youth of most lovely age and beauty, and most earnestly desired by all his nation to be their king. He, with like devotion, quitted his wife, lands, kindred and country for Christ and for the Gospel, that he might "receive an hundredfold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting." He also, when they came to the holy places at Rome, receiving the tonsure, and adopting a monastic life, attained the long-wished-for sight of the Blessed Apostles in heaven (Hist. Ecc. v, 19).

VI.

Later kings fully maintained the tradition of Royal pilgrimage, and of English devotion to the tomb of the Apostles.

Æthelwulf succeeded to the throne of Wessex in 836, and merited well of his country by his energetic defence of its independence against the Danes. In the year 853 he sent to Rome his son Alfred—"England's darling"—known to posterity as Alfred the Great.

William of Malmesbury tells us how Pope Leo, having confirmed and anointed Alfred, sent him back "with the blessing of St. Peter the Apostle to England."

Asser, a contemporary of Alfred, records the event in the following terms :

*In the same year, King Aethelwulf sent his previously named son Alfred to Rome, honourably escorted with a large number of both nobles and commoners. At that time Pope Leo IV. presided over the Apostolic See, who anointed the aforesaid infant as king, and confirmed his authority by receiving him as his adopted son.**

The same chronicler tells us how,

two years later, King Aethelwulf went himself to Rome, taking with him his son Alfred, to visit the Pope, his godfather, for the second time.

* Asser's Life of Alfred the Great.

In the same year the aforesaid venerable King Aethelwulf released a tenth part of all his realm from all royal service and tribute, and by a perpetual deed of gift consecrated it to God, One and Threefold, in the Cross of Christ for the redemption of his soul, and of his predecessors.

And in the same year he reached Rome, with great honour, taking with him the above-mentioned Aelfred his son, on a second visit there, because he loved him more than his other sons ; he tarried there a whole year.

The king's love of Rome left its impress upon the provisions of his will.

King Aethelwulf then lived two years after his return from Rome. . . . For the benefit of his soul then, respecting which from the early flower of his youth, he had been ever solicitous, he ordered that throughout his hereditary dominion, one poor man in ten, whether native or foreign, should always be provided with food, drink, and clothing by his successors, even to the final day of judgment, assuming that the country should continue to be inhabited by men and cattle, and should not become a desert.

He also ordered a large sum of money to be carried to Rome every year, amounting to 300 mancuses,* for the good of his soul, which was to be divided as follows : namely, 100 mancuses in honour of St. Peter, especially to buy oil to fill all the lamps of the Church of that Apostle on Easter Eve, and likewise at the cock-crow ; and 100 mancuses in honour of St. Paul, on the same condition of procuring oil for the Church of the Apostle St. Paul, to fill the lamps at Easter Eve, and likewise at cock-crow ; and also 100 mancuses for the Universal Apostolic Pontiff.†

When English pilgrims kneel at the tomb of the Apostles it should be to them a thought of pleasure and pride to remember that the lamps which a thousand years ago shone at this sacred shrine and turned night into day on Easter Eve and Easter dawn were lit by the piety of English kings.

VII.

The Danish Sovereigns of the country were hardly less Roman than the Anglo-Saxon. King Canute was a pilgrim, and in a special way the patron and protector of pilgrims. In 1031 he went to Rome, and from there he addressed a letter to his people, from which we extract the following passages :

I inform you that recently I have gone to Rome to pray for the forgiveness of my sins, for the welfare of my kingdom, and of the people who

* A mancus is said to equal roundly an Anglo-Saxon half-crown or 30 pence, or 55 grains Troy weight of gold.

† Asser's *Life of Alfred* : "Church Historians of England," Pre-Reformation Series, vol. ii. part ii. p. 448.

are subject to my rule. This pilgrimage I had vowed indeed to God, a long time ago, but owing to the affairs of my kingdom and causes of hindrance until now I had not been able to fulfil it. But now, I humbly give thanks to my God, the Almighty, that He has granted me to live to know and visit, and personally venerate and worship as I desired, the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and every shrine within the city of Rome and without. And this I have done, chiefly because I have learned from the wise that the holy Apostle St. Peter received from the Lord the great power of binding and loosing, and is the key-bearer of the heavenly kingdom. Wherefore I have deemed it in the highest degree useful to seek in a special way his patronage with God.*

Canute arrived at St. Peter's in time for the Easter solemnities, and was "honourably received," not only by Pope John, but by the Emperor Conrad, who was also in Rome for the occasion. The English king was zealously occupied, as he tells us, in prayer and pious visitation of the shrines, but not so much so that he could not find time to negotiate some very important business with the Pope and the Emperor in the interests of his kingdom.

He concluded a treaty for the protection and safe conduct of English pilgrims and merchants passing through the Imperial territories on their way to Rome.

Wherefore I have spoken with the Emperor himself and with the lord Pope and with the princes who were there, concerning the needs of all my people, both Danes and English, in order that there might be allowed to them a fairer law, and greater security in going to Rome, so that they should not be hindered by so many barriers on the way, nor harassed by exorbitant customs. And the Emperor acceded to my demands, and King Rodulph, who chiefly has control of the barriers, and all the princes ratified it with their edicts, that my subjects, whether merchants or others travelling for sake of pilgrimage, should without being harassed by tolls and customs, have all security both in going to Rome and in thence returning.

He had also an affair to arrange with the Pope.

Again, I complained to the lord Pope, and said that it was very displeasing to me that my Archbishops were harassed so much for large sums of money, which were asked from them when they visited the Apostolic See, according to custom, for the reception of the Pallium, and it was decided that that should not happen any more. For all things which for the interest of my people I asked of the Lord Pope, and from

* *Epistola Canuti Regis*, Wilkins, vol. i. 298.

the Emperor, and from King Rodulph, and from the other princes through whose territories I passed on the way to Rome, were willingly granted, and what they granted they ratified with an oath in the presence of four Archbishops, twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and noblemen, who were present.

The king's letter concludes as follows :

And now I enjoin upon all my bishops and the governors of my realm, by the allegiance which you owe to me and to God, that you cause to be paid, before my arrival in England, all dues which we owe according to our ancient law: namely, the ploughalms, the tithe of animals born in the current year, and the pence which you owe to Rome for St. Peter, both from towns and villages, and the tithe of fruits by the middle of August, and at the feast of St. Martin, the first fruits of seeds to the Church of the Parish in which each one resides, and which is called in English "Kirkscot." If these and other things are not paid when I come, a royal fine will be strictly levied without mercy on the defaulter.

The chronicler, Richard of Hoveden, who wrote some 150 years later, records the tradition of Canute's Pilgrimage as it still existed in the mind and records of the country :

In the year 1031, Canute, king of the English and Danes, and Norsemen from Denmark, went in great state to Rome, and carried to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, immense gifts in gold and silver and other precious things. And he petitioned Pope John that he should free from all tribute and tax the School of the English who dwell at Rome. And in going and in coming he gave away large sums in alms to the poor, and by paying a heavy indemnity he abolished many barriers on the journey at which toll was exacted from pilgrims. And before the tomb of the Apostles he took a vow to amend his life and conduct.

VIII.

This imperfect list of royal pilgrimages in the Anglo-Saxon times may be fittingly concluded with the memorable one, planned and purposed by King Edward the Confessor, but which happily was never carried out. We say happily, because England may well cry out "*Felix culpa*" when she gazes on Westminster Abbey, the fairest and best beloved of her shrines, and remembers that she primarily owes it to Edward's non-fulfilment and to the Papal commutation of a projected Roman pilgrimage.

When King Edward was in exile, he vowed that if he was restored to the throne of his ancestors, he would make the pilgrimage to Rome, and offer his thanksgivings to God at the tomb of St. Peter. Some years after his accession, he

prepared to fulfil his vow. But his bishops and counsellors besought him not to leave the realm, and expose it thereby to a renewal of the dangers from which it had just emerged. They offered to go to Rome in his stead. Edward consented that they should go and place his case before the Pope. The Pope wisely commuted the vow, commanding the king to give to the poor what he would have spent on the journey, and to do honour to St. Peter by building or restoring a monastery in his name. The Abbey of St. Peter of Westminster was founded as the fruit of the unfulfilled pilgrimage, and as the fulfilment of the Papal commutation.

But the tale can never be better told than it is in the Charter which Edward granted to the Abbey.*

"In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity. I, Edward, son of King Aethelred, by God's grace, King of the English, to all the Kings who will come after me, and to men of all ages and all degrees of dignity, greeting and the knowledge of the following :

I wish you to know that in the time of my ancestors, and of my father, many and grievous dangers of wars, enkindled both from within and from without, afflicted the English people, so that the hereditary succession of the kingdom was almost imperilled, and a long interval elapsed between my brother Edmund (who succeeded my father) and myself, during which the kingdom was invaded by Sweyn and Canute his son, kings of the Danes, and his sons, Canute, Harold, and Hardicanute. By these my other brother, Alfred, was cruelly slain, and I alone, like Joas from the hands of Athalia, escaped their ferocity.

Finally, by God's mercy, I, Edward, have returned to my native kingdom, and I have taken possession of it without any struggle of war, and like Solomon, the beloved of God, I have abounded in peace and prosperity, so that none of the kings my predecessors have been like to me in riches and glory. But the grace of God, and not the pride and disdain which is the wonted offspring of wealth, has overcome me, and truly I have begun to ponder in my mind by whose gift and help I have attained the eminence of the sovereign power,— how to God belongs the kingdom, and to whom He shall please to bestow it—how this world with its lusts passeth away, but he who gives himself wholly to God, reigns happily and is rich for ever.

Wherefore, I decided to go to the Tomb of the sublime Apostles Peter and Paul, and there return thanks for the benefits which I have received, and beseech God to confirm that peace for ever to me and to my successors.

I made my preparations, and calculated the necessary expenses of the journey, and the honourable gifts which I would carry to the holy Apostles.

* *Charta Regis Edwardi Confessoris. Wilkins' Concilia, i. 316.*

But thereupon, a grave apprehension seized upon my nobles, mindful as they were of the disasters which had happened under other kings, lest so great a lord, and the loving ruler of the fatherland being away, the realm, which had only just been pacified, should be plunged into war. And they feared like holy Ezechias, that if by any accident of sickness, or any other misfortune, I should die upon the journey, the kingdom would be left without an heir, seeing that I had no son.

Wherefore, assembling together in council, they besought me that I should abandon this project, and promised that they themselves would satisfy God for my vow, both in the offering of Masses and prayers, and in the plentiful bestowal of alms.

But when I firmly refused, we finally came to an agreement, that we should send two legates from the part of each—the Bishops Aldred and Herman, and the Abbots Wilfric and Alfwín—who would make known to the Apostolic (Pope) my will and vow, and their petition, and I promised that I would in all things act according to the decision which he would deliver to me.

What we had decided upon was done, and our legates arriving at Rome by God's will, found a Synod assembled in the said City. And when they laid my wish and their petition before 250 bishops and a multitude of holy fathers, the Apostolic (Pope) after consulting the holy Synod, sent me this letter :

Leo, Bishop, the servant of the servants of God to his beloved son Edward, King of the English, health and Apostolical benediction.

On learning your intention, praiseworthy and pleasing to God, We have given thanks to Him by whom kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things.

But seeing that God in every place is near to those who invoke Him in truth, and the Holy Apostles are one in spirit with their Head, and likewise listen to pious prayers ;

And seeing that it is plain that the English country would be endangered if thou, who by the bridle of justice hold in check its seditious elements, wert to depart therefrom ;

By the Authority of God, and of the holy Apostles and of the holy Synod, We absolve thee from the sin of that Vow, for which thou fearest to have offended God, and from all thy negligences and iniquities, using therein that power which the Lord hath given to us in Blessed Peter, saying, " Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

Next, we command thee, in the name of holy obedience and penance, that the money which you had laid aside for this journey, you shall give to the poor, and a monastery in honour of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, thou shalt either newly found, or shalt repair or enlarge an old one, and from thy revenues thou shalt endow thy brethren with a sufficiency of support, so that by them continually praise may be given there to God, increase of glory to the Saints, and of indulgence to thee. And whatsoever to the said place thou shalt have given, or whatever may be given, or shall be given, that it may be ratified, We command by Apostolic authority, that it shall always be a monastic house, and that it shall be subject to no lay person save the King. And whatsoever privileges pertaining to God's honour thou shalt be pleased

to attach to the place, We grant, and confirm with the most potent authority, and condemn all infringers of the same with everlasting malediction.

The legates brought back these and other commands of the Apostolic and in the meantime Blessed Peter revealed to a cloistered monk, of holy life, named Wulsin, that it was his will that the place which is called Westminster should be restored, which had been founded from the time of St. Augustine, first Bishop of the English, and much honoured by the munificence of the ancient kings, and which through age and frequent tumults of wars, seemed now almost destroyed.

When he had related this vision to me and to mine, and when the Apostolic letters brought me commands to the same effect, I joined my will to the will of God, and with the assent of the whole nation, I devoted myself to the rebuilding of the said place.

Wherefore I have commanded all my substance to be tithed, in gold, or silver, or cattle, and all kinds of goods, and destroying the old church, I have built up a new one from the foundations and have caused it to be dedicated on the 5th Kalends of January.

In it, I have placed on the same day, the relics which Pope Martin, and Leo who consecrated him, gave to King Alfred, and those which he asked to be given him from Charlemagne, king of the French (whose daughter his father Ethelwulf married after the death of his first wife), and which passed from him to his successor Athelstan, from him to Edgar, and finally to us ; to wit :

Two pieces of our Lord's Cross ;

A part of one Nail ;

Part of His seamless Coat ;

Relics from the raiment of Holy Mary ;

Relics of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, Andrew, Bartholomew, Barnabas, and many other saints.

Five reliquaries filled with the relics of other saints.

And I have decreed that any person guilty of treason or other offences who may take refuge in the place where these relics are kept, shall obtain impunity of life and limb, and of his crime.

The remaining half of the Charter is filled with the long list of endowments which King Edward, in fulfilment of the Pope's injunction, settled upon the new foundation. In another Charter* King Edward "makes it known to all future generations" that he has rebuilt the Abbey "by the command of Pope Leo," and "that he had renewed and added to the privileges and endowments

which the kings, my predecessors, have founded for St. Peter out of the supreme devotion which the English people have always had towards him and his Vicars."†

* Wilkins Concilia, i. p. 319.

† Placuit mihi renovare, meliorare et confirmare consuetudines et donationes pecuniarum, quas antecessores mei reges Sancto Petro instituerant

These words quite fit in with the passage of a Life of St. Edward the Confessor written by one of his contemporaries:

"The king destined to God that place both for that it was near unto the famous and wealthy city of London but chiefly for the love of the Chief Apostle, whom he revered with a special and singular affection."*

"This account, I therefore write," says one of his ancient biographers, "that it may be understood, how from his true and tender heart he loved the Apostle St. Peter, his Lord and ours."†

In these days when projects of disendowment are in the air, one may wonder if the nation, of whose history these charters form an inalienable part, will stop to consider what was the specific religion which both prompted and made the endowments.

If the will and intention of the donor is to count for anything in the ownership and application of a bequest, it is not easy to see how the endowments which the Rome-loving King Edward made in token of "supreme devotion to St. Peter and his Vicars" and in express compliance with *the wish of a Pope* could have been intended for the support of a system founded to repudiate the Pope's "Jurisdiction in this realm of England"!

Be that as it may, the Catholic claim—the heritage of our Catholic forefathers—is something immeasurably higher than a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. We, with the Vicars-Apostolic in 1826, can well afford to leave that to those upon whom the law may settle it. Our inextinguishable and irrefutable claim, one which we can never cease to assert and vindicate, is to our undeniable oneness and membership with the Church of this land for more than ten centuries of its history. Even were we silent, the very parchments of our national records, and the very stones of our national Churches would cry out for us.

In the hands of Edward and his Catholic successors, Westminster Abbey has become one of the chiefest glories of our English church architecture. It is well that this, the stateliest of English historic shrines, and the one which for so many

propter summam devotionem quam habuit semper Anglorum gens erga eum et eius Vicarios.

* Contemporary Life of St. Edward. Harleian MSS. pp. 980-985. *Ibid.*

† Lives of Edward the Confessor. Edited by Dr. Luard. (Rolls Series).

reasons is nearest to the national heart, should stand aloft in our midst as the imperishable monument of a Pope's act of spiritual jurisdiction over an Anglo-Saxon king, and of an Anglo-Saxon king's obedience to, and recognition of, a Pope's jurisdiction. Truly that, if nothing more, is a compensation exceeding great for King Edward's unfulfilled Roman pilgrimage.

IX.

The stream of archbishops and of bishops which flowed from England to Rome was naturally not less steady or strong than that of the kings. The Archbishops of Canterbury, as Primates of the English Church, play, as we might expect, a leading part in maintaining the traditional going and coming between England and the Apostolic See. Thus, taking merely the Primates of the Anglo-Saxon period, to the names of Augustine¹ (598), Laurence² (605), Mellitus³ (619), Justus⁴ (630), Honorius⁵ (634), Theodore⁶ (668), who came to us from Rome, we have to add those of Tatwine⁷ (731), Nothelm⁸ (735), Cuthbert⁹ (741), Jaenbert¹⁰ (763), Æthelhard¹¹ (790), Wulfred¹² (803), Ceolnoth¹³ (830), Ethelred¹⁴ (870), Phlegemund¹⁵ (891), Dunstan¹⁶ (959), Sigeric¹⁷ (990), Ælfric¹⁸ (995), Ælfeah¹⁹ (1006), Æthelnoth²⁰ (1020), Robert²¹ (1050), whose journeys to Rome, for Pall or pilgrimage, form a continuous strand in the texture of our annals.

Eadmer, in his *Life of St. Dunstan*, gives a typical picture of the manner in which an Anglo-Saxon Primate was received at Rome, while at the same time the tone and wording of the record, written as it is by such a representative Englishman as Eadmer, allows us to see for ourselves how the fact of such a reception was welcomed and appreciated in England.

An earlier writer chronicled the event as follows :

Finally, he (St. Dunstan) arrived, by God's guidance, at the desired Church of the Roman See, where he gloriously received the princely

¹ Bede, i. p. 23. ² *Ibid.* i. p. 29. ³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.* v. p. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. p. 1. ⁷ William Malmesb. G. P., § 36. ⁸ Bede, i. pref.

⁹ Gervase of Canterbury. ¹⁰ De Diceto, p. 444. ¹¹ Flor. Wor. Ann. 797.

¹² A. S. Chron. A. 812.

¹³ De Diceto.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Gervase, "Lives of Archbishops."

¹⁶ Hoveden, 244.

¹⁷ A. S. Chron. A. 990.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* A. 995.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 1007.

²⁰ Flor. Wor. A. 99, 1022.

²¹ A. S. Chron. A. 1048.

Pallium, in privilege of his archbishopric, along with the Apostolic benediction.*

Eadmer says :

After this, as soon as an opportunity occurred, he (Dunstan) sought the tomb of the most Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and at his coming the Pontiff of the Supreme See received him with marks of sincere affection, and later on, dealing with him more familiarly, he undoubtedly recognised him to be a temple of the Holy Spirit, and honoured him magnificently, and most fittingly adorned him with the Stole (pall) of his apostleship, for which he had come. And thus having delegated to him the Legateship of the Apostolic See to the English people, he appointed him as the Pastor and provider of their souls.†

X.

The pilgrimage of Siric, Archbishop of Canterbury, which took place just about this time nine hundred years ago, will always have a special value of its own, from the fact that it has fortunately left imprinted upon our records a contemporary account of the shrines which he visited, and, what is hardly less interesting, a detailed list of his route and resting-places on his return journey from Rome to England.

In the year 990, Siric or Sigeric, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us, "was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and went to Rome for his pall." According to Dr. Stubbs he arrived in the city probably in the month of July.

The record, which reads like the jottings of a diary, is presumably the work of one of his attendants. It has been published in the Appendix of the Memorials of St. Dunstan, edited by the present Bishop of Oxford, who has done much to elucidate the obscure names of the localities mentioned. It begins as follows :

The coming of our Archbishop, Sigeric, to Rome.

First to the tomb of Blessed Peter, the Apostle.

Then to St. Mary, the school of the English.

To St. Laurence of the Gridiron (*in craticula*).

To St. Valentine's in Ponte Molle.

To St. Agnes'.

To St. Laurence's, outside the walls.

To St. Sebastian's.

* "Memorials of S. Dunstan," edited by Dr. Stubbs (Rolls Series). Vita S. Dunstani Auctore B. p. 108.

† "Memorials of S. Dunstan." Vita S. Dunstani Eadmero auctore (Rolls Series), p. 198.

To St. Anastasia's.

To St. Paul's

To St. Boniface's.

To St. Sabina's (*Ad Sanctam Savinam*).

To St. Mary of the School of the Greeks.

To St. Cecilia's.

To St. Chrysogonus'.

To St. Maria in Trastevere (*Transtyberi*).

To St. Pancratius'.

Then they returned home.

In the morning to St. Maria Rotunda (Pantheon).

To the Holy Apostles.

To St. John Lateran's.

Thence we rested (*refecimus*) with the Apostle Lord John (Pope John VIII.)

Then to Jerusalem (*Stu. Croce in Gerusalemme*).

To St. Mary Major's.

To St. Peter ad Vincula.

To St. Laurence's, where his body was roasted.

Thus the Anglo-Saxon Primate seems to have done Rome in a very conscientious way, and, no doubt, after the leisurely and devotional manner of his time.

The rest of the record is simply a list of the stages—*sub mansiones*—of his journey back. If we can accept these stages, not merely as resting-places, but as places which mark the end of a day's journey, the Archbishop's progress had in it nothing of undignified haste. He and his suite seem to have been content with covering an average march of about fourteen miles a day. Stage No. 1 is the "Urbs Romana," as the starting-point. The second stage is "Joannis VIII.," occupied probably in a farewell visit to the Pope. The third is at Bacano, the fourth at Sutri, the fifth at Forum Casii, the sixth at Viterbo. The next day they were at Montefiascone, the day following at Bolsena, and the day after that at Aquapendente. Thus, at the end of the first week, they were only some sixty-five miles from Rome. Nearly another week later they arrived at Sienna. Eight days later they crossed the Arno, near Fucecchio, and three days afterwards were in Lucca. The thirty-eighth stage was at Piacenza, the forty-first at Pavia, the forty-third at Vercelli, and forty-seventh at Aosta, and the forty-eighth at St. Reni. From there, the Archbishop made his way across the Alps under the shadow

of the Great St. Bernard, and bent his course to the north-west, keeping the Lake of Geneva on his left. On the 54th day he arrived at Lausanne, and on the 57th at Pontarlier. Henceforth he kept steadily northward, passing through Burgundy and the Champagne country, by Brienne (66th), Chalons-sur-Marne (69th), Rheims (70th), Laon (72nd), Arras (75). Three days later (78th), still keeping east of Paris, he was at Guisnes, almost in sight of the sea, within easy distance of Calais. The diarist has left the cross-channel part of the journey unrecorded.

The Anglo-Saxon Archbishop, with his attendants, must have arrived home on some day late in autumn, and when the harvests of 990 had long been garnered from the Kentish fields through which he passed. He had spent nearly three months on the Roman journey, which our present Archbishop and the Roman pilgrims would have made in three days. Methods of time and travel have altered since Sigeric crossed the Alps, but the faith and purpose of English pilgrimages remain unchanged. The memories of this Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage nine hundred years ago, and the memories of last month, strike across the centuries one of those deep notes of harmony with which the records of our country will for ever make music to the heart of a Catholic.

When, a few weeks ago, on that memorable Sunday morning of February 19th, Englishmen and Englishwomen were assembled under the mighty dome of St. Peter's, before the altar-tomb of the Apostles, at which the venerated successor of St. Gregory the Great, of Vitalian, and of Agatho, of Leo and of John, was celebrating Mass, it must have been with a thrill of Catholic and patriotic joy that they remembered that the spot on which they knelt was holy and historic ground—the same to which the Primates, Bishops, Kings and Saints of the early English Church, in a continuous and age-long procession, journeyed over sea and land to pray, as to the Apostolic source, both of their Faith, and of that glorious psalmody that gladdened the Churches, Monasteries, and Cathedrals of the land for a thousand years of our history.

J. MOYES.

ART. II.—THE *MISSA CATECHUMENORUM* IN THE GREEK LITURGIES.

1. *The Greek Liturgies, chiefly from Original Authorities.*
Edited by C. A. SWAINSON, D.D. (Cambridge, 1884.)
2. Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα. (Rome, 1873.)
3. Ἡ θείη Λειτουργία τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου Ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου,
ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπὸ Διονυσίου Λάτα Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ζακύνθου.
(Zante, 1886.)

THE admirable critical edition of the Greek Liturgies published nearly ten years ago by the late Dr. Swainson, may be said to have rendered comparatively easy an accurate and systematic study of these valuable and venerable documents. The primary editions of Ducas, Morel, and Drouard, and the great collections of Goar, Renaudot and Assemani, are accessible only to the few, and their *apparatus criticus*, besides being imperfect, is far from conveniently arranged; while modern editors have for the most part been content either to reprint the text from one of the earlier editions, or else to present the Liturgies *ad normam hodie receptam*. Dr. Swainson was fortunate enough to obtain transcripts or fresh collations of nearly all the MSS. employed by his predecessors, and has, moreover, printed from manuscript sources several complete texts which were either entirely new or only very imperfectly known. Yet it may fairly be said that adequate use has not yet been made of the results of Dr. Swainson's labours, and comparatively little has yet been done to supplement the somewhat meagre introduction and notes with which he was content to illustrate the very valuable textual materials which he had collected.

It would obviously be impossible, within the limits of a single article, to describe and discuss in detail the entire structure of the Greek Liturgies. In the following pages we propose to confine our attention to that portion of the service which ended with the dismissal of the Catechumens, and which,

though the title is not strictly correct, we have called the *Missa Catechumenorum*.*

The Liturgies which we shall have under consideration are the four which bear the names respectively of St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, and St. John Chrysostom. Of these the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is the one which is ordinarily in use throughout the Greek Church, both Catholic and Schismatic. In the Barberini MS. (sæc. viii.) of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom that of St. Basil holds the place of honour,† but it is now employed only on about ten days in the year, including the Sundays in Lent, except Palm Sunday, and the Feast of St. Basil himself.‡ The Liturgies of St. James and St. Mark had fallen into general, but not complete, disuse in the twelfth century, but the former is still celebrated once a year, viz., on the feast of St. James, in the Metropolitan Church of Zante.§

Whatever may be the precise truth as to the authorship of those four Liturgies, there are sufficient grounds for assuming that they represent, in their main features, the liturgical usage of the four great sees of Jerusalem, of Alexandria, of Constantinople, and of Caesarea, from about the close of the fourth century downwards. A greater antiquity it would not be safe to claim, at least for the two last named; for, apart from the names which they bear, and from the tradition which associates those names with an epoch-making activity in the work of liturgical reconstruction, the Antiochean writings of St. Chrysostom himself contain abundant evidence that the so-called Clementine Liturgy—which has been preserved for us in the eighth book of the "Apostolical Constitutions"—was still in use at Antioch during the years of his ministry in that city (A.D. 386–397).|| On the other hand, the close parallelism, often amounting to verbal correspondence, between the Liturgy of St. James (so-called) and the Syriac St. James, and in like

* The service of the Prothesis with which we shall be chiefly concerned, forms, strictly speaking, no part of the *M. Catechumenorum*, but is preliminary to it.

† Swainson, pp. 75, 88.

‡ Εὐχολόγιον, p. 81.

§ To the Rev. F. E. Brightman, of the Pusey House, Oxford, we are indebted for the use of the extremely interesting edition of St. James, edited by the Archbishop of Zante in 1886. We have to thank him also for having read the MS. of this paper, and for many valuable suggestions and corrections.

|| Probst, *Die Antiochenische Messe*, &c., in the *Ztschr. f. K. T.* 1883, pp. 250 sqq. Hammond, *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch* (Oxford, 1881).

manner between St. Mark and the Coptic St. Cyril, can only be explained on the supposition that these Liturgies had taken shape before the separation of the Syrian and Coptic Monophysites from Catholic unity, in the fifth century. For, in this case, the hypothesis of borrowing on either side after the separation, cannot be maintained.*

The question as to the antiquity of particular portions of the several Liturgies cannot, however, be determined by any general statement, such as the foregoing, but must be settled in each case, so far as it can be settled at all, by a careful scrutiny of whatever evidence may be forthcoming. And here, we think, Dr. Swainson has allowed himself to fall into a somewhat serious error. He appears to be of the opinion that a comparison of the liturgical MSS. of the various ages is all that is needed in order that we may trace the growth of the Liturgies.† But to speak thus is to ignore the very important circumstance that the earlier Greek liturgical MSS., like the early Western Sacramentaries, do not profess to give a complete account of the service. To a greater or less extent they confine themselves to the celebrant's part of the sacred action, omitting all, or nearly all, that belongs to the deacon or to the choir—no inconsiderable portion of a Greek Liturgy—and conveying a very minimum of rubrical directions. Moreover, even of the celebrant's part it may be assumed that certain portions were supposed to be known by heart.‡

The comparison of liturgical MSS. is, indeed, only one of several means which must be employed if we would successfully trace the growth of the Liturgies; and in particular it must be supplemented by a careful study of those Byzantine writers who either treat of the Liturgy *ex professo*, or who deal with the elaborate ceremonial, civil and ecclesiastical, of the Court

* Renaudot, *Liturgie Orientales*, vol. i. p. xxxiv. Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ* (1845), pp. 19, 87.

† P. xxxvi. One of the most striking features of Dr. Swainson's volume is his presentment of the Liturgies of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and the Presanctified, in three stages, viz., as they appear (1) in the Barberini Codex of the eighth century; (2) in the Coutts MSS. of the eleventh; (3) in the *Editio princeps* of Ducas (Rome, 1620).

‡ The Marquess of Bute has called attention, in connection with the Coptic rite, to the incompleteness of such information as can be obtained from "Mediæval MSS. . . . which seem to contain hardly anything but the parts read by the priest." (*The Coptic Morning Service*, London, 1882, p. i.).

of Constantinople.* It would not of course be safe to rely unreservedly on the testimony of the *Commentarius Liturgicus*, and of the *Mystica Contemplatio* attributed respectively to St. Sophronius of Jerusalem, and St. Germanus of Constantinople. The former may probably be of later date than the seventh century; and there is unquestionable evidence that the latter has been freely interpolated.† But we shall find sufficient evidence in liturgical writings of undisputed authenticity to justify us in dissenting from Dr. Swainson's low estimate of the antiquity of certain portions of the Byzantine ceremonial. We cannot absolutely prove that liturgical and architectural development went hand in hand; but we suspect that signs of the growth of the Byzantine Liturgy should be looked for rather in the age which saw the erection of Sta Sophia at Constantinople, than in a period of comparative stagnation and decline.

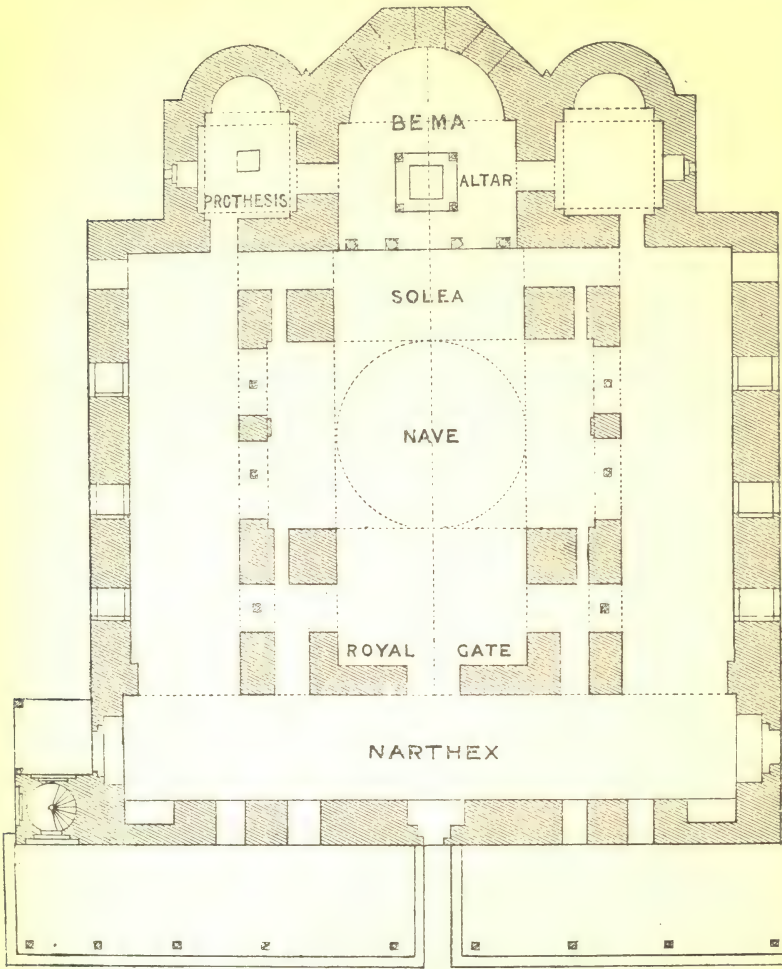
Whether, however, our view on this subject be correct or not, it will greatly help towards the understanding of the Liturgies to preface our account of them by a brief description, gathered as far as possible from original authorities, of the parts and arrangements of a Greek church.

Passing through the outer vestibule and the atrium with its fourfold colonnade, and entering the main building, we find that it consists of three principal parts—the narthex or inner

* The Liturgical writers to whom we shall have occasion to refer are the following: Dionys. Areop. *De Celest. Hierarch.* c. iii. (*Patrologia Græca*, vol. i.; a work of the fourth or fifth century falsely ascribed to Dionysius); S. Sophronii Patr. Hierosol. *Commentarius Liturgicus* (*P. G.* lxxxvii.; probably spurious, but earlier than the eleventh century); S. Maximi Confessoris, *Mystagogia* (sæc. vii. *P. G.* xci.; genuine); S. Germani Patr. Cpol. *Mystica Contemplatio* (sæc. viii. *P. G.* xcvi.; genuine, but largely interpolated); Theodori Studitæ *Explicatio Lit. Presanct.*, and other works (sæc. ix. *P. G.* xcix.); Theodori Andidensis *Commentatio Liturgica* (sæc. xii. or earlier; in *Mai Nova Bibl.* vol. vi.); Nicolai Cabasilæ *Liturgic Expositio* (sæc. xiv. *P. G.* cl.); Simeonis Thessalonicensis *Dial. c. Hereses* and *Expositio de divino Templo* (sæc. xiv. *P. G.* clv.). On the genuineness of the four last-named treatises no doubt, as far as we are aware, has been suggested. In the case of other Byzantine writers the references are to the editions in the *Corpus Scriptorum Byzantinorum*, unless some different source is specified.

† Cardinal Pitra discovered a Latin translation, by Anastasius of Sinai, of the *Mystica Contemplatio*. A comparison with the Greek text shows how much has been added in later ages to the genuine work of St. Germanus. It is much to be regretted that the learned Cardinal has given only a specimen and not the entire text, of the Latin version (*Jus Eccl. Græcorum*, ii. 298). This discovery however should have prevented a writer in the *Dict. Chr. Biog.* from repeating the obsolete hypothesis that the treatise is perhaps to be ascribed to Germanus II. (sæc. xiii.). It is hardly permissible even to conjecture that a work which was translated in the ninth century may perhaps have been written in the thirteenth. (*Cf. Pitra*, l.c. 297).

porch, the nave with its aisles, and the bema or sanctuary with its adjuncts.* The narthex (νάρθηξ, πρόναος) is narrow



PLAN I.—Church of St. Nicholas at Myra. (Texier and Pullan, Plate LVIII.)

A few details have been filled in conjecturally from R. de Fleury, Plate CXLII.

from W. to E., and has for its length the entire width of the building. Taking its origin as it would seem from a space

* 'Ο θεὸς ἅπας ναὸς τριαδικῶς θεωρεῖται, τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ φημι καὶ τῷ ναῷ, καὶ τῷ βήματι (Sim. Thess. *de Templo* p. 5). The description in the text will be understood from Plan I.

merely railed off at the lower end of the nave, it is not a matter for surprise that the relation of the narthex to the body of the Church was not always precisely the same. In some cases it formed, architecturally, together with the aisles, an interior portico surrounding the nave on three sides, and presumably separated from it only by a screen.* In others it was more completely divided from the nave and aisles alike.† To such differences of architectural structure corresponded no doubt certain differences of practice which the apparently conflicting statements of Byzantine writers reveal. Thus we read that in the fourth or fifth century the narthex was the appointed place for the catechumens and for that class of penitents who were called *audientes*, and who could hear therefrom the reading of the lessons and the homily of the preacher.‡ But it would seem that when larger churches came to be built, and the narthex assumed the character of a chamber more entirely separated from the nave, it was used as a place to which the catechumens and penitents withdrew, rather than from which they were dismissed, before the commencement of the *Missa fidelium*.§ We may add that in monastic churches the narthex was the station of the laity.||

We learn from Allatius that people who came late for the

* This arrangement may be seen—e.g., in the churches of St. Bardias at Thessalonica, and of St. Nicholas at Myra (Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*. Pl. I., lviii.).

† “Primus iste thalamus templi, a templo tamen precurrentibus undique muris separatur.” (Leo Allatius *De Rebus Eccl. Græcorum*, p. 110). So it is—e.g., in Sta Sophia at Constantinople (which has or had a double narthex, outer and inner), in Sta Sophia at Thessalonica (T. & P., Pl. xxxv., xxxvi.), and in the *Orta Hissar Damasi* at Trebizond (Pl. lxvii.) which also has a double narthex.

‡ Ἡ ἀκρόασις (the place of the *audientes*) ἐνδοθὶ τῆς πύλης ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι. So says a canon appended to the *Epist. Canonica* of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, which however is really a scholion to St. Basil *Ep. Can.* cc. 57, 75. This is the earliest mention of the narthex and of its special purpose. The reference in Kraus (*Real-Encyclopædie*) to *Const. Ap.* viii. 5, Basil I. c., and Greg. Nyss. *Ep. ad Letoium* are interesting but somewhat misleading, as the narthex (*eo nomine*) is not mentioned in any of these places. In the church of Sta Sophia at Thessalonica, “the narthex communicates with the nave by means of three doorways, and by windows, through which the catechumens and penitents heard the services”; but perhaps not the sermon (T. & P. p. 143).

§ Sim. Thess. (*Dial.* 153), οὗτοι οὖν οἱ ἐξωθούμενοι περὶ τοὺς νάρθηκας ἵστανται. These words seem clear enough, yet in c. 155 he says of the penitents and catechumens, ἐξέθεν δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μένουσι (when the faithful enter the church after the antiphons). But how could any one hear a sermon from the narthex of Sta Sophia at Constantinople or of St. Demetrius at Thessalonica, Simeon's own church? Cf. Du Cange *Descr. St. Soph.* (appended to Paul Sil. in the *C. & B.*); Allatius, p. 94.

|| Allatius, p. 113.

Church services were obliged to remain in the narthex,* and Paul the Silentary tells us that here the faithful listened to the chanting of the nocturnal office.† Here, too, certain subsidiary services were held, especially in penitential seasons, and all the offices except lauds and vespers are still said here;‡ and here the faithful remained during the preliminary service of the Liturgy until the inner gates were thrown open at the time of the solemn Introit.§

The nave, usually flanked by aisles, was occupied by the faithful.|| According to the ancient discipline, the women occupied the north and the men the south side;¶ but in the larger churches the *gynaeconitis* was in the galleries over the narthex and aisles.** Three doors, of which the central one was called the beautiful or royal gate (ὡραῖοι or βασιλικάι πύλαι), gave entrance to the nave and aisles respectively. At the upper end of the nave was the *solea* or choir, with seats or stalls for the subdeacons, lectors, and cantors. What the precise nature of the *solea* was has been much disputed. That it was not a marked architectural feature of the building may be gathered from an inspection of almost any plan of a Greek church. But it was commonly raised by one or more steps above the floor of the nave, like the transept of a Roman Basilica, and it was probably surrounded by a permanent or movable *septum*.††

* Allat. pp. 111, 112.

† *Descr. St. Sophie*, v. 430.

‡ Allat. pp. 113, 114. Rompotes *Λειτουργική*, p. 343.

§ Sim. Thess. *Dial.* c. 155. There is no real discrepancy between the description of the narthex as *within* the doors, in the canon ascribed to St. Greg. Thaum., and the assertion of Sim. Thess. (*Dial.* c. 124) that it was *outside* the ὡραῖοι πύλαι. These last were the inner doors opening into the nave.

|| The comparison of a church to a ship (*ναὸς, navis*, our *nave*), in the raised poop of which (the *bema* with its apse) is the bishop's throne, is found as early as Const. Ap. ii. 51.

¶ *C. Ap.* *ibid.*

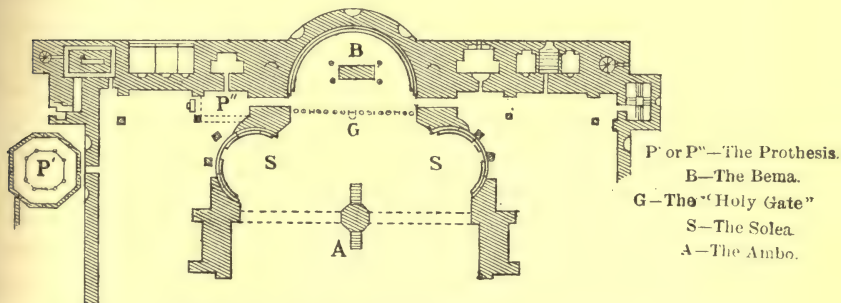
** Paul Sil. vv. 585 *sqq.*, Texier & Pullan, *passim*. The statement of Du Cange (p. 146) that in the church of Sta Sophia the aisles alone were occupied by the laity, seems to contradict the direct testimony of Sim. Thess. c. 152. When Procopius (*De Aedif. Constantini* I. 2) speaks of the aisles as the place where the faithful prayed, he is, we think, to be understood as referring to times of private prayer, when the approaches to the nave (in a large church) might be closed. So Paul. Nol. *Ep.* xxxii. n. 12.

†† Ἐποδιακόνους καὶ ἀγαγῶστας δὲ ἔξωθεν τοῦ βήματος περὶ τὸν σωλῆαν ὅς δὲ καὶ βῆμα καλεῖται ἀναγνωστῶν (Sim. Thess. *Dial.* c. 135). Τὸν σωλῆαν (Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐποίησε) χρῶσα, says Codinus (*Descr. St. Soph.* p. 142), adding (p. 144) that after it had been destroyed by the fall of the dome Justin replaced the gold with silver. This is perhaps more easily understood of a balustrade than of an inlaid floor. The words of Theod. Stud. (*apud* Du Cange, c. 73) οἱ τε θεῖοι κίονες καὶ οἱ σόλιοι καλούμενοι ἃ τὸ σεβάσμιον διατερίζουσι θυμιαστήριον certainly seems to imply an

At Sta Sophia there was room in or on the *solea* for "cohorts, with their standards on either side,"* and it seems to have occupied the whole space flanked by the north and south apses, which were advanced in front of the central apse and inclined obliquely towards the centre of the space covered by the dome. For, according to Paul the Silentiary, these two apses embrace the choir as with outstretched arms—

λαὸν ὅπως πολυύμνον εἰς ἀγκάσσεται οἴκοις.†

The *Ambo* or pulpit from which the lessons were read stood in front of the central door of the *Bema* at the outer limit of



PLAN II.—Eastern End of Sta. Sophia, Constantinople.

Some of the details have been filled in from the description given by Paul the Silentiary.

the *solea* or choir.‡ It was approached by two flights of steps, one leading up from the nave, the other from the *solea*.§ Such at least was the normal arrangement, but in smaller churches the Ambo often stood at the side, and in some instances it would seem that a separate Ambo was used for the Epistle

outer rail, that of the *solea*, parallel, more or less, with the *κίονες* of the βῆμα. Cf. *Comm. Lit.* n. 4; ἡ σωλεία εἰς τυπὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ χωρίζοντος τοὺς ἀμαρτωλοὺς ἐκ τῶν δικαίων. Nicephorus (*Antirrhet.* ii. 45) speaks of people sitting on the *κυγκλίδες* and *σωλείαι* in front of the sanctuary, which is probably to be understood of seats structurally connected with the barrier.

* Const. Porph. *de Cer. Aul. Byz.* p. 15.

† *Descr. St. Sophia*, 375. See Plan II. A most suggestive paper by Mr. Freshfield in the *Archæologia*, xlv., 383 *seqq.*, throws much light on the tri-apsidal arrangement of Byzantine Churches.

‡ The central position of the pulpit is already prescribed in *Const. Apost.* ii. 57.

§ Codinus *de Off.* p. 91. Paul the Silentiary has a whole poem on the splendid Ambo of Sta Sophia, which with its noble canopy he likens to a tower (vv. 50 *sqq.*).

and Gospel respectively, just as is the case in the church of S. Clemente in Rome.*

The *Bema* or sanctuary is raised by several steps above the *solea* or choir, and is separated from it by a screen. The earliest form of this screen may probably have been a simple curtain; but in the fourth century we find it described as a wooden grating or trellis.† In course of time wood gave place to a metal grating or barrier stretching from base to base of a series of pillars. These again supported a continuous architrave, whereon were placed statues of Christ, our Blessed Lady, the Baptist and other Saints.‡ In some cases the pillars and the low barrier gave place to a solid screen whereon the sacred figures were painted.§ The entire screen with its statues or paintings is called the *Iconostasis*.

The sanctuary is entered by the "holy doors," and in its centre is the altar. The altar is square, supported, ordinarily, on four pillars, and beneath it was a casket or shrine containing relics, which is called by Simeon the ciborium (κιβώριον).|| This term, however, was more commonly used to designate the canopy, resting on four columns, which in the larger churches at least surmounted the altar.¶ Under the altar was also a *piscina* (θάλασσα, θαλασσίδιον).

The sanctuary terminates in an apse (κόγχη, *concha*) in the centre of which, against the wall, is the raised throne of the

* Pachymerus (*de Mich. Palaeol.*, p. 173) speaks of *ambones*, in the plural, as restored by Palaeologus in Sta Sophia.

† "Ἁγίον θυσιαστήριον . . . ὡς ἂν εἴη τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄβατα, τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου περιέφραττε δεικνύουσ. Eusebius *H.E.* x. 4.

‡ Germanus (l. c. 390, 392) speaks of the metal grating (κάγκελλα χαλκᾶ) and of pillars supporting an architrave (κοσμήτης), on which Simeon (*Dial.* c. 136) places statues.

§ Goar (*Euchologium* p. 18) says: "Reticula illa lignea mutavit Ecclesia Orientalis in tabulata solida a tempore quo iconoclastarum furore turbata plures et frequentiores sanctorum imagines ibi depictas esse voluit." This is to antedate the change by several centuries, and to overlook the intermediate and normal form of the screen (*cf.* Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, vol. iii. plates ccxxxix.-ccxli.). Goar seems here, as elsewhere, to have misunderstood Germanus and Simeon.

|| Simeon's words (l. c. 341) are quite plain: καὶ κιβώριον ὑποκάτω ταυτῆς (sc. τῆς τραπέζης) ἀντὶ τοῦ μνήματος (i.e., to symbolise the tomb of our Lord). Goar strangely misunderstands this passage, confounding the four pillars which support the altar (ἡ τραπέζα ὑπὸ στύλων βασταζομένη) with columns supporting a baldachino. Germanus (l. c. 389) seems to use the word in the same sense as Simeon.

¶ Paul Sil. *Deser. St. Soph.* 720 *sqq.*, *Jo. Thessal.* in *Boll. Act. SS.* t. iv. Oct., p. 133, *Theod. Stud.* l. c. 1793, *Theophanes*, p. 360, *Const. Porph. Caer.* p. 232, *Malalas*, p. 490.

Bishop. It is called in the Liturgies ἡ ἄνω καθέδρα, the higher throne or chair, probably to distinguish it from the lesser throne or faldstool in the lower part of the Church of which mention is made in one of Goar's MSS. of St. Basil, and in the Ἀρχιερατικόν or Greek Pontifical.* It is, however, at least possible that the expression is intended merely to mark off the bishop's throne from the lower seats (ὁ σύνθρονος) which skirt the wall on either hand, and which are occupied by the assistant priests.†

Right and left of the *Bema* are two enclosed spaces, occupying, very commonly, the apses of the two aisles, and communicating with the sanctuary by a door in the dividing wall, and with the aisles by doors opposite to those in the narthex. In the northern enclosure stands the Table of the Prothesis, or credence, where the elements are prepared at the outset of the service.‡ With the southern chamber, which seems to have been used as a sacristy, we are not here concerned. It only remains to add that in what follows we shall have in view throughout the full Pontifical rite as carried out in "the great Church" (*i.e.*, Sta Sophia), of which all lesser celebrations may be regarded as reduced copies.

All four Liturgies, as they appear in the MSS., commence with one or more prayers connected with the preliminary service, called the Prothesis or Proskomide—*i.e.*, the preparation of the gifts and preliminary offertory, which is performed, as has been said, either in the apse of the northern aisle, or in some corresponding enclosure or recess. Four principal elements may be distinguished in the ceremonial of the Prothesis as it is performed at the present day in the Byzantine rite, with which the other Liturgies may be compared point by point.

(1) There is first a confession of sinfulness or unworthiness. This in the Byzantine Liturgy is expressed merely by the single invocation, several times repeated, "O God be merciful

* Goar, p. 181, Swainson, p. 152. Habert, Ἀρχιερατικόν s. *Liber Pontificalis Græcorum*; "Ministri Patriarchæ suggestum parant, constituat eum intra ædem in januis regis sive in ferula (νάθηγκι)," p. 1.

† The position of the Bishop's throne is prescribed in *Const. Ap.* ii. 51.

‡ It is clear from what has been said above, and from a comparison of the ground plan of Sta Sophia with the Silentary's description, that the Prothesis cannot in this case have occupied the northern apse, as Du Cange supposes. We suspect that it is to be looked for in a large octagonal chamber at the N.E. corner of the basilica. Cf. Sim. Thess. *Dial.* c. 137, εἰ καὶ πορρωτέρω ποτε ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις ἦσαν ναοῖς (sc. αἱ προθέσεις).

to me a sinner." In the Liturgy of St. James, however, this invocation is embodied in a prayer of great beauty and of marked dogmatic significance. A similar prayer is found in the Syriac rite. In the Greek it runs as follows :—

Defiled as I am with a multitude of sins, reject me not O Master, God my Lord; for behold I approach not this Thy divine and heavenly mystery as being worthy [to do so], but looking to Thy goodness I address to Thee this cry: *O God be merciful to me a sinner*. I have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and I am not worthy to look upon this Thy sacred and spiritual table, whereon Thine only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ is mystically set before me a sinner, defiled with every kind of stain, to be sacrificed. Wherefore I offer to Thee this supplication [and thanksgiving*] that Thou mayest send down upon me Thy Holy Spirit the Paraclete to strengthen and fit me for this ministry; and make me worthy to utter without blame to Thy people this word wherewith I am charged by Thee: [Hitherto in secret, the rest aloud] In Christ Jesus our Lord, with whom thou art blessed and glorified, together with Thine all-holy and gracious and life-giving Spirit, now and for ever. Amen.†

(2) The Psalm *Larabo*, &c., and vesting prayers. Of these no more need be said than that the occurrence of similar formulæ in other Liturgies, eastern and western, bears witness to the high antiquity of the usage of such prayers and of the recognition of the symbolism which they imply. They are not found, however, in the MSS. of St. James or of St. Mark.

(3) The Prothesis proper or *προσκομιδή*. This, in the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, is accompanied by a somewhat elaborate ceremonial, the description of which we quote in substance and in an abridged form from the Euchologium.

The priest standing at the table of Prothesis takes the first oblate (*προσφορά*) into his left hand, and with his next the sacred spear or knife

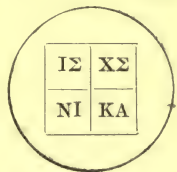
* καὶ εὐχαριστίαν om. Cod. Par. 417 (Swainson, p. 215).

† Dr. Neale's rendering of this prayer (*The Liturgies Translated*, London, 1859, p. 31) contains several mistakes. *Τὴν φωνήν* surely does not mean "my voice," but refers to the word or cry which follows, "Lord be merciful." &c. *Ἀποφθαλμῆσαι* does not mean "to present myself before," but "to look upon." *Ἐμοὶ προκεῖται εἰς θυσίαν* does not mean "is set forth as a sacrifice for me," but "is set before me to be sacrificed." Finally, *τὴν παρὰ σοῦ μοι ἐπαγγελθείσαν φωνήν ταύτην ἐπιφθέγγασθαι* does not mean "to declare the word delivered by me (!) to Thy people from Thee," but "to utter this word announced to me by Thee;" "this word" being, it would seem, the termination or *ἐκφώνησις* of the prayer, considered as implying a right to intercede for the people in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. It should be added that this *Apologia* in St. James follows, instead of preceding, the prothesis, which in this liturgy is represented, as will be seen, only by a single prayer.

(λόγῃ) with which he makes the sign of the cross (σφραγίζει) over the bread, saying: "In memory of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Making four incisions on the four sides of the raised *signaculum* (σφραγίς) and so detaching it from the loaf, he says: (1) "As a sheep to the slaughter he was led"; (2) "And as an innocent lamb before his shearer is dumb, so opened He not His mouth"; (3) "In His lowliness His judgment was exalted"; (4) "And His generation who shall declare?"* (Isai. liii. 7, 8, lxx.) Lifting up with the spear the *signaculum* which he has just detached, he says: "For His life is exalted from the earth always, now [and for ever]." And placing it upon the paten he "immolates" it (θύει), marking it crosswise on the soft side, and saying: "The Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world is immolated for the life and salvation of the world." Then while the deacon mingles the wine and water in the chalice (in memory of the blood and water that flowed from the Saviour's side) the celebrant pierces the *signaculum*, saying: "And one of the soldiers pierced His side with a spear, and immediately there came forth blood and water." The celebrant now takes a second oblate, and cutting off a particle with the spear he places it on the paten, "in honour and commemoration of our most Blessed and Glorious Lady Mary ever Virgin, Mother of God, through whose intercession do Thou, O Lord, receive this sacrifice upon Thy heavenly altar." In like manner a number of particles are taken from three other oblates and placed on the paten with (1) a commemoration of St. John the Baptist, the Apostles, and other saints, and (2) a memento for the living, and (3) for the dead.†

It will be seen, then, that the Prothesis essentially consists in the selection of a portion of the bread offered by the faithful, and its due preparation, together with that of the chalice. The taking of portions from several oblates is obviously intended to signify *inter alia* that every one's offering is represented in the holy sacrifice. Covel, quoted by Dr. Neale, mentions a custom of rubbing a few crumbs at least from every oblate that has been presented.‡ We find the rudiments at least of the Byzantine ceremonial in many of the

* The oblate is a small round loaf of bread with a raised portion in the centre of its upper surface. This raised part, which is called "the seal," and also "the Lamb," is square in form, marked with a cross and with letters signifying "Jesus Christ conquers." We borrow our illustration from Daniel, p. 386.



† The details regarding the number and arrangement of the particles vary somewhat in the different recensions.

‡ *Liturgies Translated*, p. 168. "We offer to God temporal things," says Cabasilas, "and receive eternal"—i.e., we offer the unconsecrated elements and receive the Body and Blood of Christ.

Eastern Liturgies, if not in all of them, with several remarkable coincidences both in the verbal formulæ and in the ritual observances. Thus in the Armenian rite the celebrant goes to the credence, where the first deacon offers him the oblate, which he places on the paten with the words: "A memorial of our Lord Jesus Christ;" and then prays for those who have made the offering.* And while pouring the wine and water into the chalice, he commemorates the outpouring of blood and water from the side of our Lord.†

In the Syriac Liturgy the deacon presents the oblate to the celebrant, who, after invoking a blessing upon those who have made the offering, divides the loaf into as many portions as need be, saying: "As a lamb to the slaughter," and the rest.‡ The same words occur at the outset of the Liturgy of St. Mark,§ and were no doubt accompanied by the same act of fraction. No verbal formula is prescribed in the Liturgy of St. James, nor, it would seem, in the Coptic rite, but the priest selects "from among several loaves which are presented to him by the deacon;"|| and it is remarkable that the Copts and Ethiopians stamp their oblates in a manner strikingly similar to that which has been described as in use in the Greek Church.¶

The fact that a ceremonial answering to the Prothesis of the Greek Liturgies was not confined to the churches of the East, has been pointed out, with an almost exhaustive wealth of illustration, by Dr. Wickham Legg, in a paper recently published in the *Transactions* of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society. Perhaps the most striking among the instances in point is that which is afforded by the liturgical tract appended to the Stowe Missal, and of which a slightly different recension is given in the *Lebar Brece*. Here the mingling of the chalice, accompanied by a short prayer, and the placing of the host upon the altar, are explicitly mentioned as taking place some little time before

* *Liturgia Armena* (Venice, 1854), pp. 29-31.

† Hammond, p. 139 (but not in Ed. Venet).

‡ Hammond, p. 58.

§ Swainson, p. 2. Not however in the Rossano Codex.

|| *Coptic Morning Service*, p. 38.

¶ Daniel iv. 386. Each host is marked with thirteen crosses. The central one, which is larger than the rest, and enclosed in a square like the Byzantine *σφραγίς*, represents our Lord; the others the twelve Apostles.

the introit. Another point of contact between Western and Eastern Liturgies is afforded by the minute ordinances found alike in the Stowe Tract and in the Mozarabic Missal concerning the number of parts into which the host is to be broken (in this case, however, *after* consecration), and by the symbolical interpretation of the several particles or modes of fraction.*

There is a curious ordinance in the first of the *Ordines Romani*, first brought to light by Mabillon, on which it is just possible—though we do not venture to affirm it with confidence—that the ceremonial of the prothesis may be found to throw some light. It is there mentioned that, as the Pontiff entered the sanctuary, two acolyths met him with boxes (*capsae*) containing the “*sancta*,” and that the Pope, making his reverence to the *sancta*, looked to see if there were more hosts than were needed, and if so directed that a portion be replaced in the *conditorium*. Now, Mabillon and others, down to M. Duchesne in our own day, have understood the *sancta* here mentioned to be *consecrated* Hosts, which were to be placed upon the altar with the unconsecrated oblates, thus maintaining a sort of continuity from one Mass to another. But if it is borne in mind that the oblates in the Byzantine prothesis are called τὰ ἅγια—i.e., *sancta* (e.g., by Codinus *de Off.* p. 93, and by others *passim*), the conjecture is forced upon us that the *sancta* of the Roman Ordinal may have been *unconsecrated* oblates, and that it may have been either a rudimentary survival of an original service of prothesis, or else the undeveloped germ out of which the prothetic ritual in the Eastern Liturgies had grown.

(4) The ceremony concludes, in the Byzantine rite, with the “prayer of the prothesis” and the incensation of the gifts. This prayer may probably be regarded as the nucleus to which all the other verbal formulæ used in this service have attached

* *Missale Mozarabicum* (P. L. lxxxv.). “There are seven kinds of fraction; that is to say, five parts of the common Host [*i.e.*, in the daily Mass]; seven of the Host of Saints and Virgins [*i.e.*, on their festivals]; eight of the Host of Martyrs; nine of the Host of Sunday; eleven of the Host of Apostles, in figure of the imperfect number of the Apostles after the scandal of Judas,” &c. (Mac Carthy, “The Stowe Missal” in the *Transactions* of the R.I.A., vol. xxvii., pp. 251 *sqq.* We have slightly abridged the passage.) Dr. Mac Carthy’s translation of the Stowe Tract and of that in the Lebar Brecc should be regarded as having superseded Dr. Whitley Stokes’s version in Kuhn’s *Ztschr. f. Vergl. Sprachforschung*. Berlin, 1882.

themselves. In St. James a prayer with this title is found only in a single MS., and consists merely of a short doxology.* In St. Basil the prothetic prayer contains a threefold petition, that God would bless the gifts and receive them upon His heavenly altar; that He would graciously remember those who had offered them, and those by whose hands they are offered, and that he would preserve the celebrant and his assistants "blameless in the sacred ministry of the divine mysteries." The corresponding prayer in St. Mark and in the older recension of St. Chrysostom contains an explicit petition for the great act of transubstantiation.† We give it in the fuller Alexandrian form, which, as being substantially identical with a prayer in the Coptic rite, may be regarded as probably the more ancient.

Master and Lord Jesus Christ, Word co-eternal with the Eternal Father and the Holy Spirit, great High Priest, who wert offered as an innocent Lamb for the life of the world, we pray and beseech Thee . . . to show Thy face upon this bread and upon this chalice that they may be transmuted into Thy spotless Body and precious Blood (*εἰς μεταποίησιν τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος κτλ.*), wherein Thou art welcomed on the holy table, with priestly psalmody, by angelic company standing round about. that Thou mayest receive our souls and bodies.

Before the prayer of Prothesis, however, the incense has been blessed, the *asteriscus*, and the veils, three in number, have been censed and placed over the *oblata*; and immediately after the prayer the gifts themselves are censed, and the celebrant having given the dismissal (*τὴν ἀπόλυσιν*), and thus declared this part of the service closed, the deacon takes the thurible and censes the altar, the officiating priest and his ministers, and the entire Church.‡

* Cod. Par. 476, Swainson, p. 215. The Zante St. James lays it down that the preparation of the gifts (*ἡ προπαρασκευή*) may either be performed according to the Byzantine rite, or (which is more in accordance with primitive usage) without the accompaniment of any verbal formula, *μηδὲν ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ παρασκευάζοντος ταῦτα ἱερέως* (p. 9).

† In the later St. Chrysostom (Cod. Coutts iii. 42, sæc. xi.; and printed Edd.) the Basilian prothetic prayer is used instead.

‡ The *asteriscus* is a sort of framework of metal in the form of a Greek cross, the extremities of whose four arms are bent at right angles to the plane of the cross. Placed over the *oblata* with the extremities of the arms resting on the table it prevents the veils from touching the particles. The author of the *Comm. Lit.* says: *ἐπικαλύπτει τὸν οὐράνιον ἄνθρακα. ἔστιν δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ κολλᾶσθαι τοὺς μαργαρίτας ἐν τῷ δυσκοκαλύμματι*, words which his Latin translator has strangely misunderstood. The *ἀνθραξ* and the *μαργαριταί* are of course the

We may here call attention to the circumstance, which seems to have been overlooked by Liturgical writers from Goar downwards, that in a Pontifical Mass the service of the Prothesis was performed not by the celebrating prelate, but by a deputy or assistant priest (ὁ δευτερεύων).^{*} On this point the Byzantine liturgists are explicit and unanimous. From one to another, with merely verbal variations, they hand down the statement of the fact, accompanied by the traditional symbolic interpretation. The service of the Prothesis or preliminary offertory, they say, symbolises the time of the ministry of St. John the Baptist, while our Lord was as yet hidden, and the deputy celebrant represents the Precursor whom the Messiah sent before His face to prepare His way.[†]

The subject is, however, not quite free from obscurity. The old Latin translator of St. Basil's Liturgy clearly supposes the Bishop or Patriarch to be present in the Prothesis, and to take part in the Prothetic service.[‡] And Simeon of Thessalonica describes the Pontiff as coming down to the narthex from his throne in the apse preparatory to the solemn Introit, of which we are presently to speak. On the other hand, the *Ἀρχιερατικόν* or *Liber Pontificales Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, published by Habert in 1643 from sources which unfortunately he does not specify in detail, not less clearly implies that at least in more solemn functions the Pontiff did not enter the Church till after the conclusion of the preliminary service, having in the meanwhile

particles. The term *μαργαρίται* is used in this sense by Germanus, by Balsamon and others (Allat. p. 146, cf. Greg. Nyss. *Ep. ad Letoium*, P. G. xlv. 229); and its equivalent occurs in the Syriac "Nomocanon" of Barhebraeus (*Mai Script. Vet.* x. 2, 19).

^{*} The *Commentarius Liturgicus* and Theodore of Ardidia call attention to the fact that according to the normal usage of the "Great Church" (i.e., of Sta Sophia at Constantinople) the manual acts of the Prothesis were performed by a deacon, *ἐπευχόμενον τοῦ ἱερέως*.

[†] Δίδονται ὁ καιρὸς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν ἱερέων μέλλοντι ἀρχεῖσθαι τῆς θείας μυσταγωγίας· οὗτος δὲ ὁ κ. σχηματίζει τὸν . . . καιρὸν τῆς Προδρομοῦ Ἰωάννου γεννήσεως . . . ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ὁ τὴν ἐναρξιν τῆς θείας λειτουργίας ποιούμενος εἰκόνα φέρει τοῦ Προδρομοῦ κτλ. (*Comm. Lit.* n. 11; Germanus, l.c., 400 sq.) Ὁ δευτερεύων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων ἐν τῇ προθέσει ἀπελθὼν κτλ. (*Sim. Thess. Dial.* c. 84). With the expression δίδονται ὁ καιρὸς may perhaps be connected the liturgical formula καιρὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ, which, however, occurs after the incensation (Swainson, p. 109, *Εὐχολ.* p. 41; the words are from Ps. cxviii. 126, LXX., as Mr. Brightman has kindly pointed out to us). The expressions "quærent ab Archiepiscopo præceptum sonandi," and "Archiepiscopus præcipit de secunda," in Beroldus (*Muratori Antiqq. Ital.* iv. 869), may also be compared.

[‡] "Patriarchæ . . . offeruntur in sacrario ab oblationariis mundatæ et compositæ oblatæ," &c. Morel, *Liturgia*, p. 31; Swainson, p. 151.

vested in the narthex. And Goar writes to the same effect.* And so, it would seem, the Greek liturgical writers are to be understood. Probably, however, there were divergences due to local usage or to the varying degrees of solemnity in particular functions.†

If now it be inquired what degree of antiquity can be claimed for the particular ceremonies and verbal formulæ which make up the service of the Prothesis, the question is one which does not admit of a simple answer. Not only in the Barberini MS. of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, which dates from the eighth century, but also in the Coutts MS. of the eleventh, the Prothesis is represented only by a single prayer, the εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως. The fourth-century treatise, falsely ascribed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite, makes no mention whatever of the Prothesis.‡ This, however, might well be because, as has been said, the Pontiff took no part therein, and because this preliminary service was regarded as not, strictly speaking, forming a part of the Liturgy. When the writer speaks of the bringing in of the veiled gifts at the commencement of the *Missa fidelium*, his words may be taken to imply that the Host and the chalice had previously been prepared, and it may be assumed that some form of words would be used in the preparation.§

The Messina roll of St. Mark, which is ascribed to the twelfth

* Si autem Pontifex sit aut Patriarcha qui celebret, non statim orantem altari se sistit quin prius in ferulâ sive Ecclesiæ vestibulo pontificium assumat ornatum et in humiliori throno ibidem collocato Antiphonarum (*sic*) posthæc continuo decantandorum finem præstolaturus sedeat." Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον*, p. 122. The *Ἀρχιερατικόν* (pp. 2 sqq.) describes in some detail the erection of the Patriarch's throne ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς πύλαις ἢ ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι with seats for the concelebrant bishops on either hand, a symbolical design (in coloured chalks?) being described on the floor in front. "Tempore vero instante secundas tenens sacerdotum uno cum diacono procedit ad propositionem" where the προσκομιδὴ is performed as above described.

† An obscure passage, which variant readings have rendered still more enigmatical, in Germanus (l. c. 407) and Theodore of Andida (l. c. 560) may perhaps be understood as implying some variety of liturgical usage on this point.

‡ The writer commences his account of the sacred mysteries with the incensation of the Church by the Pontiff (*de Eccl. Hier.*, c. iii. § 2); on which passage St. Maximus remarks in his scholia (P. G. iv. 136) that Dionysius is probably describing the ancient usage in the lesser churches (ἡ τε ταῖς αὐτῇ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπολιτεύετο ἴσως ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίαις). In the fully developed Byzantine rite the incensation was performed by the deputy celebrant.

§ *Ἐγκεκαλυμμένος μὲν ὁ θεῖος ἄρτος προτίθεται καὶ τὸ τῆς εὐλογίας ποτήριον* (E. H. iii. 8). Here again, Maximus observes that since the writer's time there has been a change of usage (l. c. 144), viz. as regards the veiling of the chalice.

century by Dr. Swainson, is the earliest instance so far as we know of the occurrence of the words of Isaiah ("As a sheep to the slaughter," &c.), which at least in the later Byzantine rite were accompanied by the symbolical acts of stabbing with the sacred spear, and the like, while the acts themselves are first described in MSS. of the fourteenth century.* Hence the use of the λόγχη or spear is specified by Dr. Swainson as one of "the momentous additions" made to the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, "between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries."† In this, however, he is certainly mistaken. Even putting aside, as of doubtful date, the testimonies of the *Commentarius Liturgicus*, of the *Mystica Contemplatio*, and of Theodore of Andida, we find express mention of the spear and of its symbolical significance in the work of Theodore of Studium against the Iconoclasts, a treatise of unquestioned genuineness written in the ninth century.‡ This should be enough to warn us against basing a positive argument on the silence of Cox. Barb. or any other Liturgical MS., unless we are quite sure that it professes to tell us everything.

In the Liturgy of St. James the prayer of self-accusation which we have already quoted is followed by a "prayer of the Parastasis," the purport of which we have now to determine.§ Daniel and Dr. Neale indeed are confident that the nine prayers which stand at the commencement of this Liturgy are strung together in an impossible order, and that two of them at least are mere "doubles" originally intended to be used by way of alternative, and not in succession. And Mr. Hammond asserts that: "*There is no order in these prayers, nor can they possibly have been all intended to be used on any one occasion.*"|| The

* So we are informed by Mr. Brightman, who has seen the MSS.

† P. xxxvi.

‡ Sophr. l. c. 3989; Germ. l. c. 398; Theod. And. l. c. p. 556; Sim. Thess. l. c. 263; Theod. Stud. *adv. Ichronomachos*, l. c. 490 (τὴν ἱερατικὴν λόγχην ἀνθ' ἧς καὶ ἐν τῇ τῆν θεόσωμον πλευρὰν ἐνύγη). All these writers speak of the prothetic ritual as a sacrificial act by which Christ is figuratively and mystically immolated. (Herein lay some danger of a fanciful exaggeration.) In the detachment of the σφραγὶς from the oblate they find a symbol of the Incarnation and Birth of our Lord, the substance of whose Body was taken from that of the B.V.M. Hence also they liken the Prothesis to the cave or stable of Bethlehem, as well as (by reason of the "immolation") to Calvary.

§ The title is given only in Cod. Par. 2509 (Swainson, p. 217). But the prayer occurs in all three of Swainson's MSS. and in the Zante edition.

|| *Liturgia*, p. 25 (note): "Quis non videt talem precum farraginem nec parallelizari posse nec debere?" (Neale ap. Daniel, iv 88).

occurrence of these prayers in the same order in the only three MSS. which are known to us, to say nothing of their actual use at the present day, ought, one would think, to make any one hesitate before accepting this somewhat bold statement. It is not easy to ascertain with certainty the precise topographical arrangement; but from such indications as we have it would seem that the *assistentia* (παράστασις) is not that of the celebrant or deputy before the altar, but that of all the sacred ministers together before the "Royal" or "Beautiful" doors, which led from the narthex into the nave.* The prayer is in honour of the Blessed Trinity regarded as a source of heavenly light (τῷ τριαδικῷ καὶ ἐνιαῖῳ φωτὶ τῆς θεοτῆτος), and probably alludes to the lights which are to be used in the service.

We have already mentioned the incensation of the gifts, which in the Byzantine rite is followed by an incensation of the whole Church. Strictly speaking, however, the incensation of the Church, as following the ἀπόλυσις which concludes the prothetic service, should be regarded as belonging to a second portion of the preliminary ritual which is, or was, technically called the "ἐναρξίς" or "Commencement," and which embraces all that now follows down to the Introit.† The term does not, indeed, appear in the text of the Liturgies of St. Mark, St. Basil, or St. Chrysostom; but it is found in the margin of the old Latin translation of St. Chrysostom by Leo Tuscus,‡ and is very explicitly recognised in the MSS. of St. James. Its existence also seems to be implied in the expressions used by the Byzantine liturgists, who, however, use the term ἐναρξίς in a somewhat wider sense as including the Prothesis.§ Like the

* Possibly, however, the prayer was said in the Prothesis. The rubric in the Rossano Codex runs thus: τοῦ κλήρου μέλλοντος τὴν προέλευσιν ποιῆσαι, ὁ διάκονος ἐκφωνεῖ . . . ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς λέγει· Δόξα κτλ (Swainson, l. c.). The Zante edition directs that the prayer be said before the ὡραία πύλη (p. 9), but as the ὡ. π. are in this recension confounded with the ἀγίαι πύλαι, not much importance can be attached to such directions.

† In the *Editio princeps* of Ducas (Swainson, pp. 108, 109) the incensation follows the prayer of Prothesis, and is followed by the initiative formula καιρὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι. But in the Roman edition of 1873 (pp. 40-42) both the incensation and the καιρὸς are followed by the prayer of Prothesis, clearly an inversion of the older order.

‡ Swainson, p. 110. "Initium sanctæ Missæ." This rubric follows the incensation. Our justification for including the incensation in the Enarxis is the passage of pseudo-Dionysius already referred to.

§ Ἱερεὺς ὁ τὴν ἐναρξιν τῆς θείας ἱεουργίας ποιούμενος κτλ. *Comm. Lit.*, n. 11, Germanus, l. c. 402, Theod. And. l. c. 556, &c.

Prothesis it was performed by the deputy celebrant. This part of the service is introduced in St. James by a "prayer of the incense at the entrance upon the Enarxis" (εὐχὴ τοῦ θυμιάματος τῆς εἰσοδον τῆς ἐνάργεως) by way of distinction from another censuring prayer which belongs to the Introit proper (εὐχὴ τ. θ. τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς συνάξεως) of which we are presently to speak.* The distinction has been overlooked by Dr. Neale and Mr. Hammond, who find "no order" in the opening portion of the Liturgy of St. James, and it has been entirely obscured in the modern edition of that Liturgy.† In this prayer our Lord is somewhat strangely addressed as "the two-natured coal" (ὁ διφύης ἄνθραξ) wherewith the lips of the prophet were cleansed by the seraph, and is petitioned to cleanse the inward senses of the officiating priest and to render him a fitting minister of the sacred mysteries. In the close union of the element of fire (as then conceived) with the grosser substance of the coal, was seen a fitting symbol of the mystery of the hypostatic union. And this symbolism was supplemented by a full recognition of the typical relation between the burning coal laid on the prophet's lips and the consecrated particles received in Holy Communion.‡

In the Byzantine rite that portion of the Enarxis which follows the incensation consists of three antiphons, three prayers corresponding to the antiphons, and a thrice repeated deacon's litany consisting of petitions for peace and other blessings (hence called the *irenica*) to each of which petitions the people answer *Kyrie Eleison*. Of the manner in which the antiphons, the irenica, and the prayers are combined, it must be sufficient to say that the body of the prayer is recited by the priest in secret concurrently with the singing, only the termination (ἐκφώνησις) being recited aloud at the conclusion of the chant, like the *Per omnia secula seculorum* before the Preface and the *Pater* in the Roman rite. The antiphons,

* Swainson, pp. 217-219. The εἰσόδος τῆς ἐνάργεως is mentioned explicitly in Cod. Par. 2509, the εὐχὴ τῆς ἐνάργεως in the same MS.; the εἰσόδος τῆς συνάξεως in Codd. Ross., Par. 2509 and Par. 476.

† Zante St. James, pp. 10-12.

‡ Compare the *Munda cor meum* in the Roman Mass. A different and very beautiful symbolism is suggested in one recension at least of the Coptic rite. "The censer of gold is the Virgin; the sweet cloud is our Saviour; she hath borne Him; He hath saved us; may He forgive us our sins" (*Coptic M. Service*, p. 47).

but not the prayers, vary with the season or festival. Such at least has been the case since the sixteenth century, and probably since a much earlier time; but there can be little doubt that the original form of the antiphons is most nearly represented in the ferial Masses, when they consist of a few verses from the 91st, 92nd, and 94th Psalms respectively, a brief response being inserted after each verse, as in the *Invitatorium* of the Roman Office.* Dr. Pleithner has, we believe, been the first to point out that the Enarxis really represents the canonical hours of terce and sext, for which in earlier times this portion of the service was regarded as a substitute as often as the Liturgy was publicly solemnised. This discovery rests upon a somewhat obscure passage of Cassian, the meaning of which ought, however, to be henceforth clear. We give it in full, with a portion of Dr. Pleithner's note thereon, at the foot of the page.† We have here an interesting bond of connection between the Liturgies of the East and of the West. Precisely answering to the Enarxis (though without the incensation) is the choral recitation of Terce during the vesting of the Bishop in a Roman Pontifical Mass—a rite to which many curious analogies might, no doubt, be discovered by any one more familiar than we are with early liturgical documents. The Enarxis, it is true, no longer takes the place of Terce and Sext, these being now recited in addition to the Liturgy, but a trace of the older usage long survived in the fusion of these two offices into a single service called the *τριθέκτη*, and this very name *τριθέκτη* is still used to designate a portion of the Enarxis.‡

* That this is the original form of the antiphons is we think sufficiently established—(1) by the fact that no other form appears in the older text of the liturgy (see Leo T. in Swainson, p. 113); and (2) by the still more significant fact that the Byzantine liturgists comment on *these* Antiphons only, and not on the formulæ which, according to present usage, are often substituted for them.

† "Verum ne hoc quidem ignorandum, die dominico unam tantummodo missam (i.e., assembly in choir) ante prandium celebrari, in qua psalmodum atque orationum seu lectionum pro ipsius collectæ vel communionis dominicæ reverentia solemnius aliquid ac propensius impendentes, in ipsa *Tertiam Sextamque pariter consummatam reputant*" (de Cænobiorum Institutione, lib. iii. c. 11; *P.L.* xlix. 149). "Diese Angaben sind zwar nicht vollständig deutlich, aber lassen doch mit ziemlicher Sicherheit darauf schliessen, dass diese sonntägliche feierliche Gebetsversammlung mit der sogenannten *Vormesse*, welche . . . um die dritte Stunde gefeiert wurde, identisch gewesen sei." (Pleithner, *Älteste Geschichte des Breviergebetes*; Kempten, 1887, p. 256).

‡ The *τριθέκτη* is mentioned by Const. Porph. *Cær.* pp. 155-6, and by Codrins *de Off.* p. 45 (ψάλλονται οὖν αἱ ὥραι ὡς ἔθος, ἥ τε πρώτη, ἥ τριθέκτη, καὶ ἡ

Whether the Liturgy of St. Mark originally possessed an Enarxis is open to question. In St. James, if we might trust the MSS. and the modern usage, the Enarxis would seem to be represented by no more than a single prayer, in addition to the "prayer of the incense" of which we have already spoken. We strongly suspect, however, that here as elsewhere the MSS. do not tell us everything, and that the εὐχή τῆς ἐνάργεως is nothing more than the prayer to be recited by the celebrant or his deputy at the conclusion of the choral service, concerning which the MS. *more suo* is silent. This view of the matter receives some confirmation from the circumstance that in like manner the earlier MSS. of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are entirely silent as to the antiphons and the *irenica*, the very existence of the antiphons being merely inferred from the titles of the prayers (εὐχή ἀνπρώνου α', β', γ').

The Introit (εἰσόδος) here follows in St. Mark, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom. In St. James it is preceded by a second prayer of incense, and by a blessing of the deacon, of which, however, there is no need to speak more particularly here.* The Introit is a portion of the service, the original import of which appears to have been strangely overlooked by modern Liturgiologists. Renaudot, Goar, Daniel, and Mr. Hammond alike speak of it as "the lesser Entrance" or "Entrance of the Gospel"—i.e., a procession in which the Book of the Gospel, which has hitherto lain upon the altar, is carried in procession through the Church (down the north aisle and up the centre)

ἐννάτη), and as a single antiphon in *Lit. Chrys.*, Swainson, pp. 113, 114 (τὸ τρίτον ἀντίφωνον ἢ τὴν τριτέτην). "The Liturgy is joined with the offices of the third and sixth hours and should regularly begin as soon as they are finished, but on account of the length of the services the present practice in the Russian Church [this was a century ago, but a friend tells me the usage still prevails] is for the priest to go into the Prothesis and perform the office while the hours are said in the Church. And when the Liturgy is performed by a Bishop, who has the distinction of putting on his vestments in the middle of the Church [anciently in the narthex], he does it at the same time. Thus, there are as it were three different services going forward at once" (King, *Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*: London, 1772, p. 135). Illustrations of the close connection between the morning office and the Liturgy, may, we think, be found in the *Peregrinatio Silvæ* and in Mabillon *Vetera Analecta*, pp. 151, 152.

* Ἡ εὐχή τοῦ θυμιάματος τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς συνάξεως. So Cod. Ross and Par. 2509, 476 in Swainson, pp. 218, 219. The Zante St. James (p. 12) has substituted ἐνάργεως for συνάξεως here (!); one of several indications that its distinguished editor has not rightly apprehended a distinction which is made so plain in the old MSS.

with lights and incense.* And it must be admitted that such is the character and title which it bears not only in the later MSS. and in the printed editions of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, and in the modern recension of St. James, but even in the Roman Codex (sæc. x.) of St. Mark.† Nevertheless, there is, we think, no room at all for doubt that the earliest form of the εἰσοδος was not a mere procession, but an Introit proper, the entrance of the Pontifical celebrant into the Church, the deputy-celebrant and the assistant ministers who have been engaged in the Prothesis and Enarxis coming down to the royal gates, with incense, lights, and the book of the Gospels, to meet him. And with him the congregation, who had hitherto waited in the narthex, also entered the body of the Church for the first time. It would not indeed be safe to lay too much stress on the title εἰσοδος, which stands without qualification in the Barberini and Coutts MSS. of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom.‡ But suspicion might well have been aroused by the circumstance that in none of the Liturgies has the "prayer of the Introit" any special reference to the Gospel, and by the still more significant fact that in the Liturgy of the Presanctified it is directed that the "entrance" be made *without the Gospel*; § a strange rubric if the very *raison d'être* of the ceremony had been a mere carrying of the Book of the Gospels in solemn procession. Still this is, after all, merely negative evidence. But very positive testimony is supplied in the first place by the Liturgy of St. James, in which all three of Dr. Swainson's MSS. explicitly call it an εἰσοδος τῆς συνάξεως ("entrance of the congregation"), and in which two of them prescribe that the "prayer of the entrance" be recited as the celebrant and the clergy proceed *from the doors of the Church* to the altar or sanctuary.|| The matter is made still more clear by a rubric in one of Goar's MSS. of St. Basil. "Then the Pontiff rises from the throne on which he had been sitting in the lower portion of the Church"—*i.e.*, as we learn from the

* Goar, pp. 124, 131.

† Swainson, pp. 12, 114, 152; Zante St. James, p. 13 (ἡ εἰσοδος τῶν ἀγίων γραφῶν).

‡ Swainson, pp. 76, 88, 114, 153.

§ Εἰσοδος ἀνευ Εὐαγγελίου (Εὐχολόγιον, Rome, 1873, p. 113).

|| Εὐχὴ ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς κατὰ τὴν προέλευσιν τοῦ κλήρου ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἕως τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. Cod. Par. 476. Cod. Ross. om. τοῦ κλήρου (Swainson, pp. 220, 221).

Greek Pontifical, in the narthex.* But the question is settled beyond the possibility of dispute by the early Liturgical writers to whom reference has already been made. Their testimony is explicit. The Entrance or Introit is the entrance not of the Gospel but of the Pontiff. As the deputy-celebrant represented the Precursor, so the entrance of the Bishop or Patriarch represents the coming of Christ our Lord in person. The deputy and his assistant clergy go forth to meet him with lights and incense, and bearing the Book of the Gospels; as he enters the chant ὁ μονογένης (Unigenitus) is sung, and the assistant priest gives place, remembering the words of the Baptist whom he represents: *Illum oportet crescere me autem minui*; "it is for Him to wax great, but for me to grow less."† In the absence of the Patriarch or Bishop, and in the less solemn rite in which a single priest performed the double part of deputy and celebrant, the procession of the Gospel out of the north door of the sanctuary, down the north aisle, and back through the nave and the holy doors (or possibly as far as the narthex and back through the *royal* doors), remained as a survival of the original, fuller, and more significant ceremony. After this explanation it is hardly necessary to insist on the suitableness to the occasion of the hymn Unigenitus (ὁ μονογενής) the introduction of which is attributed by St. Maximus and others to the Emperor Justinian. It is now sung after the second antiphon. We have mentioned the entrance of the congregation together with or rather in the train of the Pontiff as implied by the expression εἴσοδος τῆς συνάξεως occurring in the Liturgy of St. James. But here again the Byzantine liturgists supplement the rubric by their more explicit statements that the congregation did enter the Church at this time.‡

The "prayer of the Introit" in St. James speaks of the "entrance into the Holy of Holies" (Heb. x. 19) which Christ has laid open to us; that of St. Mark is nearly identical with the "Prayer of Absolution to the Son" of the Coptic Liturgies, and answers to our Absolution after the Confiteor; St. Basil

* Swainson, p. 153, Habert, p. 1.

† *Comm. Lit.*, p. 13; Maximus, *Mystag.* c. 9; Germanus, Theod. And., &c.

‡ Νάρθηξ ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ ἐστάναι τὸν λαὸν ἔξω ἐν τῇ τοῦ θυμιάματος ὥρα—i.e., during the Enarxis (*Comm. Lit.* n. 5). Τὴν δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ σὺν τῷ ἱεράρχῃ εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἴσοδον κτλ. (Maximus, c. ix.) Ἐν τοῖς προομιλοῖς τῶν ὕμνων ἱστάμεθα ἔξωθεν καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν πολλάκις οἱ μετανοοῦντες εἰσιν ἀντιγομένων δε τῶν πυλῶν μετὰ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ὕμνους ἡμεῖς μὲν εἰσερχομεθα κτλ (Sim. Thess. Dial. c. 155).

asks that Angels and Archangels may enter with the celebrant to take part in the sacred mysteries (συλλειτουργοῦντες καὶ συνδοξολογοῦντες τὴν ἀγαθότητα), and with this St. Chrysostom's is identical.*

The *Trisagion*, or threefold chant, "Agios o theos, Agios ischyros, Agies athanatos," which now follows, is familiar to us from its use in the Roman Liturgy on Good Friday. While it is being sung the celebrant recites in secret the "prayer of the Trisagion" which is entirely different in the four Liturgies. In St. James it is petition for deliverance from sin that we may worthily join in the holy chant; in St. Basil a prayer that our hymn of praise may be acceptable, unworthy as we are; in St. Chrysostom we find an expansion of the Trisagion itself by way of paraphrase; while St. Mark's prayer has relation rather to the Gospel than to the invocation of the thrice Holy.

The Introit is concluded by the prayer, or blessing, of the throne (τῆς ἁνω καθέδρας), pronounced by the Pontiff before he takes his seat. This prayer, however, is not found in St. James or St. Mark. St. James here has the Irenicon (called in this Liturgy the Greek *Synapte*); herein preserving the order of the primitive ritual.

Of the lessons and their accompaniments we had intended to speak no less fully than of the Prothesis, the Enarxis, and the Introit; but the length to which this paper has run warns us that we must be content to pass over in silence a portion of the Liturgy concerning which after all we should have nothing of any value to add to what has often been said before.

HERBERT LUCAS, S.J.

* We give a portion of the prayer as it stands in St. Mark. "Master, Lord our God, Thou who didst elect the twelve-lighted lamp of the twelve Apostles [in allusion to the twelve candles of which the liturgists speak] and didst send them into the whole world, to preach and to teach the Gospel of thy Kingdom, . . . and didst breathe into their faces, and didst say to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete; Whose sins ye shall forgive they are forgiven unto them and whose sins ye shall retain they are retained; thus do Thou also upon us Thy servants," &c. (Neale's Tr., with a slight verbal change).

ART. III.—MEMOIRS OF CARDINAL MASSAJA.

I Mici Trentacinque Anni di Missione nell' Alta Etiopia. Memorie storiche di Fra Guglielmo Massaja, Cappuccino, Cardinale del Titolo di San Vitale, Roma. Milano. 1885. Published serially in volumes.

IN the last days of August 1889, there passed away in an obscure cell of the Capuchin Convent of Frascati, one of those men on whom nature had impressed the stamp and seal of greatness. The gift of mental pre-potency, possessed by him in a high degree, is indeed the sum and quintessence of many others, and confers that pre-eminence of moral stature which we characterise by that epithet. Exercised by Cardinal Massaja only in the humble field of missionary labour among barbarous tribes, it would equally have secured for him the leadership of his fellows in any sphere of worldly ambition. But a nobler vocation called him to consecrate his conspicuous abilities to the highest of all uses, and to spend his power of subjugating the minds of others in the loftiest of human strivings, the enforcement of spiritual truth.

Born at Piovà, in the diocese of Asti, in 1809, Guglielmo Massaja early chose to enter the service of religion as a Capuchin Friar. He occupied the post of reader of theology to the Convent of Monte Torino, when at twenty-seven years of age his superiors selected him for the arduous task of breaking ground for the harvest of Christianity in a new field. The initial impulse towards this enterprise came from the zeal of a lay traveller, who may be called the pioneer of the Gospel in the regions through which he passed. To a letter addressed to the Propaganda by M. Antoine d'Abbadie, from Quarata, in Abyssinia, in 1845, was due the action of that body in sending, as he had strongly urged, a Catholic mission to Ethiopia. Nor was this the only service rendered by him to religion in those countries, for the example of his life, and the impression made by his virtues were such as to prepare the way before it, and to make him the precursor and herald of the truth. The precepts inculcated by him bore

fruit in some instances many years after, when the white men who followed in his track were everywhere received as friends in his name. We need not refer here to the scientific results of the journey undertaken by him, in company with his brother Arnold, in 1838, since they have been long known to the world. But its religious bearing was twofold, since the existing Lazarist Mission in Abyssinia also owes its inception to the fact that a young monk of that order was taken as their travelling companion by the brothers Abbadie.

Separate from it, though closely connected with it in origin and history, was the Vicariate Apostolic of the Gallas, wild tribes of southern Ethiopia, created in 1846, and confided to the charge of Fra Guglielmo Massaja. Consecrated bishop of the titular see of Cassia *in partibus*, he started immediately for the scene of his labours, taking as his companions Fathers Giusto da Urbino, Felicissimo da Cortemilia, Cesare da Castelfranco, and the lay-brother, Fra Pasquale da Duno. Following the route by Cairo and Suez down the Red Sea to Massowah, where they were received by Mgr. de Jacobis, Prefect of the Lazarist Mission, they were met by difficulties at the outset, as a civil war then raging in Abyssinia between Ras Aly, its chief ruler, and the prince of the border province of Tigre, compelled them to make a protracted stay in Guala, a station near its frontier. The vicissitudes of life in those countries were brought home to them by a raid of the enemy compelling them to take refuge in a mountain cavern to which they were hauled up in baskets, and where Mgr. Massaja conferred ordination on some native priests, converted with their flocks to Catholicity.

Their detention in Guala was diversified by a visit from M. d'Abbadie, when the restoration of peace in June, 1847, rendered locomotion possible. Communications were again cut off shortly after, as they annually are, by the arrival of the rainy season, and a still more formidable obstacle to the advance of the mission was next interposed by ecclesiastical jealousy, aroused by the superscription in Arabic, of a letter to its head. Addressed to him as "Abouna," the title assumed by the Metropolitan of Abyssinia, it fell into the hands of that dignitary, who was by no means disposed to brook a rival in his see. His position rendered him a dangerous,

his character an unscrupulous enemy, and to his undying hostility the persecutions subsequently endured by Mgr. Massaja were due.

A foreigner to Abyssinia, as custom requires the head of its Church to be, the reigning Abouna furnished in his own person an illustration of the evils of the system of patronage resulting from this state of things. His humble origin, as the son of a slave-broker in Cairo, threw him early upon his wits for advancement in life, and though baptised in the Coptic Church by the name of Andrew, he exchanged his early faith for that of Anglican Protestantism, when adopted as a *protégé* by the English missionaries. From them he received an education in the colleges of Malta and Cairo, but at fourteen was sent by his parents to be weaned from his new creed in the monastery of St. Anthony in the Thebaid. Expelled at eighteen for a plot against the life of the superior, he was again taken up by his Protestant patrons, and by them run as candidate for the then vacant Metropolitan see of Abyssinia. A bribe of 3000 scudi to the Patriarch of Alexandria secured his success, and the unfrocked monk, not yet twenty, presumptuously assumed the name borne by St. Frumentius, but since disused through reverence, and succeeded as Salama II. From 1839 to 1867 he ruled the Abyssinian Church with such scandalous abuse of his position as might have been expected from the turbid record of his previous career. The solemn rite of ordination was reduced by him to a sacrilegious farce, celebrated in private houses or in still more summary fashion by the roadside. On one occasion, when the breviary was opened by chance at the marriage service, he declared it would do as well, and read the formula of the latter over the candidates for Holy Orders. His treatment of his penitents was exemplified in the case of an old woman who ingenuously expressed her pleasure at meeting the Catholic missionaries, as she had just come to the end of a term of seven years for which the Abouna had absolved her in anticipation, and naturally desired a renewal of her charter of impeccability. This high priest of heresy, after exercising considerable political influence during the early years of Theodore's reign, fell into disgrace for a personal offence against the monarch towards its close, and died in captivity,

it was supposed from poison, in the royal fortress of Magdala, in 1867.

The decree of exile from Tigre, which now stopped Mgr. Massaja on the very threshold of his mission, was the earnest of the lifelong animosity of his rival. It compelled him to retreat, in the first instance, to Massowah, not always a safe haven of refuge, for among the picturesque incidents of his career was his consecration of Mgr. de Jacobis, head of the Lazarist Mission, in a hut guarded by soldiers at dead of night, followed by the flight of both prelates by sea immediately afterwards, from a threatened raid of the wild guerillas of the border.

The heroic bishop, nothing daunted by obstacles, next started to traverse Abyssinia incognito, taking with him the lay-brother, Fra Pasquale, and furnished with letters from Ubie, Prince of Tigre, who was in his confidence. Their way led by precipitous paths through a country of savage abundance—where eighteen sheep were sold for a scudo, and five colossal pots of butter, or three of honey, for a like sum—to the fortress sanctuary of Tedba Mariam, situated on a basaltic platform girt by perpendicular walls of rock two miles in circumference. A sacred stone and book of unknown antiquity are the principal objects of veneration in this holy place, where the sacerdotal caste numbered some hundreds out of a total population of 1000.

Reinforced by another priest, Father Stella, the missionary party proceeded through Gojam to the camp of Ras Aly, then the principal ruler of Abyssinia. The last stage of their journey thither was accomplished under the escort of 600 soldiers, who, living at free quarters on the inhabitants, left famine in their rear. In one village, however, to their surprise they were hailed with joy as deliverers from a still more dreaded scourge, an unknown and ferocious beast, which made its daily meal on one of the inhabitants. When duly hunted and slain, it proved to be a leopard, an animal which, according to our author, becomes as inveterate a man-eater as the Bengal tiger, when once it has tasted human flesh. The camp of Ras Aly being reached, that potentate gave the missionaries a hospitable reception, but they were warned against irritating his self-love by representing any European prince as more

powerful than himself. Mgr. Massaja also received a kindly warning that he would probably be requested to resuscitate a friend of his host who had recently died, the possession of this power being in his belief one of the privileges enjoyed by bishops.

It was, however, the temporal rather than the spiritual influence of his guest that Ras Aly was anxious to invoke, as he proposed to him to enlist the intervention of the Emperor of the French to procure the despatch of a Latin Patriarch to Abyssinia, instead of the Coptic Abouna, whose rule practically enslaved them to Egypt. On receipt of an unfavourable answer from the King of Shoa to a request for permission to pass through his dominions, Mgr. Massaja undertook this negotiation, and returning to Europe laid the matter before Louis Napoleon without any result. In interviews with Lord Palmerston and other English statesmen he secured the grant of a government subsidy to the mission of Aden, and having transacted these and other affairs set his face eastward once more. He met in his travels M. Arnold d'Abbadie, who undertook to carry a letter for him to his persecutor Abba Salama, assuring him of his friendly dispositions, while remonstrating against some of the abuses of the Abyssinian Church, especially the profanation of the ceremony of ordination. The Abouna's rejoinder was a singular one. "The Abyssinians," he said, "not being men but monkeys, it was not well to give them the true orders." His answer to his Latin *confrère*, though thus friendly in tone, indicated no real change in his persistent attitude of hostility towards him.

As the Bishop's ecclesiastical character was thus an insuperable obstacle to reaching his vicariate, he came to the bold resolution of running the blockade of the frontier in disguise. Assuming the name of Giorgio Bartorelli, and the character of an Italian trader, he took the way of the Nile to Sennaar, while allowing it to be believed that he was about to follow once more that by Massowah. Having succeeded in obtaining a recommendation from the Patriarch of Alexandria to all the Coptic clergy and authorities, he gained admittance in the first instance into the monastery of St. Anthony in the desert, in order to contrive the release of a young Catholic who had been decoyed thither, and compelled to assume the habit of a

monk. His medical knowledge made him a welcome inmate during three months spent here as a guest, and enabled him to effect his purpose on his departure. With the promise (faithfully performed) of sending back some much desired remedy, he was allowed to leave in company with his *protégé*, who succeeded in effecting his escape, and eventually became parish priest of the Catholic Copts of Mansourah.

Following the ordinary route to the Soudan, the disguised missionary noted, in starting for Abu Hamed from Korosko, an instance of intelligence in that much-maligned animal the camel. One of those forming the caravan, on perceiving that it was being driven on the desert route, refused to start, and it was then found that it had not received the usual signal when drinking, indicating the necessity for an extra supply being taken in. After being led back to the well and allowed to supply the deficiency, it started cheerfully on its journey.

A breakdown in the assumption of his part nearly cost the Bishop his life, when in the market-place of Laka in Sennaar his ignorance of the prices of his wares betrayed him to the Mussulmans as an impostor. Assailed and beaten by the mob, his refusal to pronounce the formula of Islam had nearly gained him the crown of martyrdom, when he was rescued by the intervention of two soldiers of Prince Kassai, afterwards King Theodore of Abyssinia.

The worst perils of his journey were over, when on September 23, 1852, he reached the borders of Galla-land, though still divided from it by the Abbai, or Upper Nile, at that season impassable after the rains. During the two months of his enforced sojourn here he was hospitably entertained by the local chieftain, Workie-Jasù, a doubly influential protector, as he was of mixed Galla and Abyssinian blood, owning possessions on the banks of the stream, and practising alternately the religions of both races, Paganism and nominal Christianity. It was not until November 21 that the autumn freshet had sufficiently subsided to admit the river being crossed by swimming, and on that day Mgr. Massaja, setting foot on the further shore, took possession of his Vicariate, after six years' wandering in the attempt to reach it. Much to the astonishment of the five young neophytes who accom-

panied him, he now exchanged his merchant's apparel for that of an Abyssinian monk, and appeared in his true character as the renowned Abba Messias, the native synonym for Massaja.

The recommendation of his late host secured him a welcome from Gama-Moras, the chief in whose territory he now found himself, and he was immediately endowed with land for the construction of a little chapel and the other necessary erections. A man of considerable astuteness and grasp of intellect, this barbarian ruler was capable of appreciating the more lofty standard of morality presented by Catholic teaching, and partly on this ground, and partly from the wish to secure its influence in carrying out certain ambitious designs of his own, he forwarded to the utmost of his power the interests of the mission. The latter thus secured a firm basis in the country, and from Asàndabo where it was established, a commercial centre, with a normal population of 1000, increased a hundred-fold on the occasions of fairs and markets, was able to extend its influence in different directions. This section of Galla-land is called Gudru, from the name of its first Galla conqueror, and is ruled by the Torba Gudru, a council of seven, representing the families descended from his seven sons. The mission was strengthened soon after its establishment by the arrival from Massowah of Fathers Felicissimo and Hadjlu Michael, an Abyssinian priest. It now consisted of four priests and a number of young neophytes, and formed with the huts of the *personnel* attached to it a distinct quarter of Asàndabo. At Whitsuntide, 1853, twelve converts, among them the eldest son of the chief, were baptised together. The occasion was solemnised with the celebration of High Mass, but much ingenuity was required to supply the episcopal vestments and insignia, left behind at the coast. A piece of skin, stiffened with starch, and covered with red cloth, furnished the material for a mitre, and a cane surmounted by a cross was the substitute for a pastoral staff.

While Abyssinia was at this time desolated by the civil wars which resulted in placing Theodore on the throne, Gojam, having successfully resisted his invasion, formed a bulwark behind which Galla-land enjoyed immunity from his raids, a circumstance which in no small degree furthered the

progress of the mission. The Catholic priests enjoyed the veneration of all classes, but the practice of polygamy among the upper ranks was a great obstacle to conversion.

The transference of the widows of a deceased chief to his next-of-kin was exemplified on the death of the brother of Gama-Moras, when the latter went through the strange ceremony of the *raeco*, or Galla marriage, with the two relicts. A cow being fastened to the door of each bride's dwelling, the bridegroom in presence of the assembled magnates cut its throat, and aspersed with its blood the spectators and the hut, murmuring as he did so some superstitious formula. Then entering the house, where the bride was solemnly anointed, he led her forth, and publicly proclaimed her his wife.

The neighbouring King of Enàrea, Abba Baghibo by name, sent a pressing invitation to the missionaries to visit his country, as he much desired to receive the friends of M. d'Abbadie. That gentleman, during his stay in his dominions, had received a special mark of his confidence in being selected to bring home his bride, the daughter the King of Kaffa. An obstacle was interposed to their acceptance of the invitation by the necessity of passing through the intervening country of Gemma, where a blood feud was held to exist with all Europeans, since the English consul Plowden had slain one of their soldiers in battle ten years before, and paid the penalty of the offence with his own life.

A preliminary negotiation was therefore undertaken through Abba Baghibo, to whom a caravan was despatched with letters and presents. Though robbed of the latter on the way, it was no less graciously received, and with the returning messengers were sent four asses laden with coffee, butter, honey, stuffs, and artistic objects of native manufacture. A still more precious gift was that of two little slave boys, who, instructed and baptised by the missionaries, were later on ordained priests, known as Abba Luca and Abba Matteo. In the accompanying letter to Gama-Moras, Abba Baghibo bade him make known to all Gudru that the blood of the white men was his blood, warning whomsoever should touch a hair of their heads never to show his face in Enàrea, a formidable penalty, since the population lived by traffic with that country. To Mgr. Massaja he addressed a cordial invitation, panegyricising M.

d'Abbadie in the highest terms, and expressing his impatience to see the brothers of that incomparable white man.

I thank you [he said] for the presents sent to me, and bid you not grieve if they did not reach me, because I consider them as received. When you come, do not think of presents, for your persons will be the most precious gift you can bestow on me or on my country. Accept meantime the little I offer you, and when you want slaves, butter, or anything else, I will send you as much as you wish. For your journey I have given all the orders, and you may rest assured that no evil will befall you on the road. I have, however, written to Gama Moras to have you taken round the frontiers of Gemma Nunnun, because the stain of blood being there, you might incur some danger. But Gama, who knows our people, will not fail to take all measures necessary for your safety.

These letters were written in a corrupt Arabic, the Galla tongue not having at that time been reduced to writing. The arduous task of doing so occupied Mgr. Massaja's leisure, when on the departure for Enàrea on November 3 of Fathers Cesare and Felicissimo, he was left behind in Asàndabo, since Gama Moras would not sanction his departure thence. As the Galla language did not lend itself to transliteration in the Arabic characters, he reduced its sounds to the Latin alphabet, and thus enabled it be written for the first time.

At this period, too, he busied himself with preparations for a colossal banquet which it was found advisable to give, as a means of conciliating native opinion, on which the mission naturally depended for success. The most essential preliminary was the brewing of *bouza* and *tedge*, beer and hydromel, on a vast scale, these being the indispensable accompaniments of all festivities. The first is a thick and nauseous compound, made of hard-baked bread broken up in water and fermented with malt, the supply being extended by successive dilutions of the dregs as the feast progresses. The second is a decoction of honey and water in varying proportions according to the body desired, slightly fermented and flavoured with the aromatic leaves of certain shrubs. Large piles of bread were then made from the flour of *teff*, a species of millet, the dough in a semi-fluid state being baked into large flexible sheets. These form the only substitute for plates, napkins, and table service generally, as the viands are conveyed to the mouth wrapped in their folds, after a preliminary dip in the fiery sauces of capsicums or chilies, so dear to the Abyssinian

palate. Beer served in horns or glasses is the preliminary to a course of boiled beef, with its broth, thickened with bean flour and highly seasoned. Then comes *brondo*, or raw meat, the chief delicacy of an Ethiopian banquet, the great slices reeking with pepper sauce in which it is served, being seized in the teeth and cut off close to the mouth. Hydromel accompanies this course, and the next consists of the remains of the meat toasted by the guests themselves at the central fire. After-dinner speeches are made, as with us, when they resume their places, eloquence being doubtless aided by the heady beverages swallowed. At the missionary banquet, five hundred guests were entertained in this fashion during four consecutive days, each social grade receiving due precedence. So great is the Galla rage for raw flesh, that a party of men will sometimes retire to a sequestered hut with one or more oxen, and there remain secluded until they are all devoured, etiquette strictly prohibiting the interruption of the orgy by outsiders.

A misfortune which now befell the mission in an outbreak of small-pox in its precincts, was the means of saving hundreds of thousands from the disease, as it enabled Mgr. Massaja to obtain matter for inoculation, which he thenceforward practised on a prodigious scale. The vaccine brought from Europe had proved inoperative, apparently from climatic causes, so that the artificially induced malady itself was the only available prophylactic.

The record of the Bishop's subsequent travels consists frequently of an enumeration of his labours in operating on the crowds that everywhere flocked to meet him, as the fame of his powers in warding off the most dreaded scourge of the country spread abroad through all its length and breadth. Gama Moras and his family were among the first to try the remedy, with the exception of a young son of the chief who had been sent away to be out of reach of the epidemic, and thus losing the opportunity of inoculation, died of it eighteen years later. The consideration previously accorded to Mgr. Massaja for his virtues was thenceforward enhanced by a reputation for supernatural powers, to which of course the success of his "medicine" was ascribed. He made the curious remark that the fresh cases of the disease invariably declared themselves at full or new moon, and that an interval

of fourteen days thus elapsed between the successive outbreaks in a household.

The missionaries sent to Abba Baghibo had, meantime, experienced a most cordial reception from that potentate, who declared that had they come twenty-five years earlier he would himself have joined their communion, a change for which he said it was now too late. A further extension of the missionary field to the kingdom of Kaffa necessitated the ordination of two native youths, as the supply of priests was quite inadequate to the demand. One of Mgr. Massaja's original companions had been diverted from his vocation by the fascination which the study of Amharic exercised over him, and absolutely refused to quit Abyssinia in consequence. This inconstancy to his primary calling cost him his life, for expelled from the country of his predilection a little later, he died of fever at Khartoum, when full of repentance he was striving to return to his appointed field.

A new station was established by Mgr. Massaja in 1855, at a place called Lagàmara, from "laga," river, and "amara," Christian. His journey thither resembled a triumphal progress, all classes vying with each other in trying to do him honour, and many striking incidents occurred on the way. It was in this region that he came upon the track of M. d'Abbadie, remembered among the people as "the white monk." Among the most fervent converts was a youth named Avietu, who had, as a child, received baptism when apparently at the point of death, at the hands of the eminent French traveller. The incident was recounted by him as follows:

I was little, and had not yet lost my first teeth, when I fell ill, and was at the point of death, then he poured water on my head, reciting a prayer. I felt a happiness never experienced before, and almost immediately recovered. He taught me many things, and amongst others a prayer to say every day to the *a jana* (image of Our Lady) which he had, and which he often showed me and made me kiss. He advised me not to imitate my companions in actions that would offend the *a jana*. The last piece of advice he gave me before leaving was this. When you are grown up marry but one wife, for that is God's wish. After his departure, I cried for eight days, and his words have remained impressed on my memory as if I had heard them only yesterday. Whenever my companions tried to make me do as Abba Dia had forbidden me, I seemed to see him looking fixedly at me in displeasure, then I recited the prayer to the *a jana*, and the image of Abba Dia smiled on me again. Now I am

grown up, and as I have been faithful to his counsels to this day (at least as far as I could) I wish to be so for the future, especially in regard to the last admonition he gave me.

His subsequent story is an African idyl, for through the intervention of Mgr. Massaja, he was united in a happy marriage to the bride of his choice, and formed with his dependents a Catholic community, where every Christian virtue was inculcated by his precept and example.

Belief in the efficacy of Mgr. Massaja's prayers was universal among the natives, and at Lagàmara his credit was much enhanced by the result of a war in which his hosts, previously defeated, had conquered after following his advice. First having persuaded them to offer equitable terms of peace, when these were rejected he bade them plant a number of little crosses along the frontier, whence the invading enemy was repulsed with great slaughter. Many conversions ensued, and a flourishing Catholic colony was established here, in a district where paganism, Islam, and heresy had previously held triple sway. A dreadful scarcity, caused by the war, was aggravated by the increase of the normal population by crowds of refugees from Abyssinia. The missionaries not only spent their last thaler in the relief of the distressed, but begged for alms to supplement their own resources, which they economised by restricting themselves to half rations. The example thus set was not ineffectual, for the rich, who had previously hoarded their goods unmindful of the common want, were stimulated to send in their superabundant stores to the mission, which was thus provided with plentiful supplies for all comers. The distress, which became acute in January, ceased only with the new harvest in September.

The Lazarist Mission in Abyssinia was at this time enduring a cruel persecution at the hands of Theodore, who, crowned as Emperor by Abba Salama, the son of the slave-dealer, became the instrument of his rancorous hatred of the Catholic priests. Mgr. de Jacobis was expelled from Gondar after five months' imprisonment, and many prominent Catholics had to fly southward to the Galla country. Here they were a stumbling block to the missions, as many of them were but recently converted, and so little changed in heart as to give disedification among the heathen by their conduct.

But these trials were as nothing compared with that which overtook Mgr. Massaja in the disastrous news which reached him from Kaffa of the defection of one of his priests. Father Cesare da Castelfranco had not only conformed to the Abyssinian heresy, but had taken a wife of that nation, as is permitted to its clergy. The difficulty of dealing with the case was aggravated, moreover, by the formation of a strong local clique in his support, the lady he had sacrilegiously married being connected with the most influential families, and allied even with that of the King. All the efforts of this party were directed to impeding the journey of the Bishop to Kaffa, where his presence was so urgently needed, and it was only in 1859, after protracted negotiations, that the influence of Baghibo extorted permission for him to proceed thither.

The narrative of his journey is full of interest. He passed through Enàrea, then a large and flourishing kingdom with five royal cities, and there consecrated as his coadjutor, Father Felicissimo Cocino, with the title of Bishop of Morocco *in partibus*. Passing thence into previously unvisited regions, he was everywhere welcomed as a benefactor, and his movements were repeatedly delayed by the multitudes who thronged to all his temporary halting places to be inoculated by his hand. Nor was his progress barren of religious results. The young native catechists formed by his instruction brought in many converts, mixing freely with the people in the villages along the way, and speaking to them of the simpler aspects of religion with a familiarity unattainable by a European. Their recital of episodes from the Gospel or the lives of the Saints was vivified by their own example, as their innocence and avoidance of evil seemed in itself a miracle to those brought up in the unbridled licence of paganism.

To one in particular, whose brief story is told in touching detail by our author, is ascribed by him the foundation of the Catholic community of Ghera, still subsisting when visited by Captain Cecchi, one of the most recent European travellers in those regions. Born in Lagàmara, of parents Christian by lineage, but paganised by long residence in heathendom, this young apostle desired from his earliest years to be instructed by the Catholic missionaries settled there. His parents' consent at last being

gained, he was baptised by the name of Gabriel, and at ten years old made his first communion. The celestial visions with which he was then favoured, repeated on every subsequent approach to the holy table, were sometimes indicated to others, notably to a Mohammedan youth still unconverted, by the sight of lambent flames enveloping him at such moments. His rapturous exaltation of spirit continued even in sleep, during which he was constantly heard to utter prayers and ejaculations. Taken by Mgr. Massaja as the companion of his journey to Kaffa, he became a living revelation to those who approached him, and when his early death fulfilled his own constant prediction, the event caused an extraordinary sensation throughout the country, and even the neighbouring Mohammedan court shared in the public mourning. In disregard of the prevailing superstition reputing contact with the dead as contamination, thousands flocked to the rude hut where he lay dead, to kiss his hand and foot, and his interment was delayed beyond the prescribed term, in accordance with the general desire to do homage to the shrine of so pure a spirit. His companions built a hut over his tomb, to which they resorted daily to pray, and formed a league of piety in his honour, binding themselves by solemn vows to follow in his footsteps. The Church may, perhaps, one day confirm the spontaneous voice of general belief by inscribing the little Abyssinian confessor in the roll of her crowned and haloed dead.

Still grieving for their lost companion, the Bishop and his party reached the frontiers of Kaffa, in October 1859, through a dense forest where wild coffee shrubs formed in places the undergrowth. A wall with a height and width of four or five metres girdles the territory where unprotected by natural obstacles, and entrance through the massive gate is only permitted by direct order of the King. A second line of defence encircles the royal province of Bonga, containing the capital of the same name, and here similar formalities had to be gone through.

Much perturbed in spirit at the crisis before him, the Bishop recognised in the coldness of his reception the influence of the party favouring the apostate priest, for though assigned quarters and supplied with provisions by the royal mandate he was not granted an audience. The octave of St. Francis

was passed by all the party in penance and prayer for the conversion of their recreant coadjutor, all, even to the youngest of the pupils, sleeping on nettles and living on bread and water, during those days of agonising suspense. Unknown and unsuspected by them, the unhappy object of their petitions was himself cognisant of them, for though at this time supposed to be kept in durance in the precincts of the royal residence, he contrived to steal out at dusk and watch from a neighbouring thicket the doings in the missionary camp. The inmates of the latter, the Bishop and his swarthy children, were gathered in prayers and tears almost of despair on the last night of the octave, when a shrouded figure glided into their midst, and the penitent lay the next instant prostrate at the feet of his superior.

The public penance and expiation that followed this dramatic scene produced an extraordinary impression on the natives, as they were thus enabled to realise the gulf that separates the Catholic clergy from those of Abyssinia, among whom disorderly and irregular lives are rather the rule than the exception. To this episode, therefore, so grievous at the time, Mgr. Massaja attributes the great movement of conversion in the kingdom of Kaffa, where Father Cesare's preaching, always preluded by a public confession of his fault, was especially fruitful. The brief remainder of his life was spent in exemplary penance and mortification, and his death, in February 1860, followed his conversion at an interval of but a few months. He died of the dreadful disease of the country, induced it is thought by the monstrous habit of devouring uncooked meat, which causes worms to breed in the stomach in such multitudes as to bring on fatal fever and inflammation.

The numbers of those who came for baptism and instruction were so great as to necessitate the establishment of auxiliary stations, and the royal family contributed its quota to the ranks of those received into the Catholic fold in the person of the King's uncle, who was secretly baptised on his death-bed. The missionaries were called in also to pray for the Queen Mother, entitled the Ghebreciò, but her sudden death intervened before her actual conversion. The event was signalled from point to point by beat of drum, and none might sleep

in a bed or eat at a table during the three days' mourning so proclaimed.

During Mgr. Massaja's sojourn in this part of southern Ethiopia, the number of Catholic converts amounted to 5000 out of a total population of about 400,000. These are divided pretty equally between the Pagan and Christian castes, called respectively, Kaficiò and Amari, or Tigrina. The latter are, as their name implies, of Abyssinian descent, and the King is invariably chosen from their ranks, though he resembles other royal personages in conforming after his election to the State religion of his Galla subjects. This consists, in theory, of the worship of a beneficent spirit called *Deoce*, but, in practice, of a number of superstitious observances ministered to by a hierarchy of soothsayers and magicians. These latter form the most influential class in the country, and everywhere intrigued against the missionaries whom they regarded as formidable competitors in their trade. The favourite form of divination, by studying the membrane lining of the stomach of the cow, is explained by the quaint legend that of the three sacred books descended from heaven, the Christian, the Mohammedan, and the Galla, the latter was unceremoniously swallowed by that animal, with the result that some of its characters were transferred to the living parchment of its interior.

The Christian Church of Abyssinia has been corrupted by the adoption of rites both from Judaism and Islam. Circumcision is thus in some places substituted for baptism, which survives only in the form of a universal annual immersion on the morning of the Epiphany. The veneration of the *tabot*, a piece of wood kept in the churches as a symbol of the Ark of the Covenant, is pushed to the length of actual idolatry, this block being made the central object of worship. The practice of animal sacrifice is carried to a length which converts the precincts of the churches into so many shambles, the interests of the priests for whom the flesh of the animals forms a valuable perquisite being bound up in its continuance. The sacrificial idea associated with the act of slaughtering beasts even for food, leads to the practical inconvenience that the adherents of each sect will eat only meat butchered by their co-religionists, and to "eat with the Mohammedans" is a periphrase for the

adoption of their creed. In morality there is, according to our author, little to choose between these professing the two faiths. True, the religious marriage in the Abyssinian Church, contracted by the reception of the Kurban, or communion, by the parties, is indissoluble even by the death of one of them, but it is, on the other hand, solemnised only in very exceptional cases, the prevailing form of union being purely a civil contract, practically revocable at will. The family tie thus weakened or dissolved, the children, neglected and maltreated, are thrown on the world at an early age, without even the memory of a true home. Yet to this barbarous state of society modern legislation in many heretofore Christian and civilised countries promotes a return !

The commerce of Kaffa is mainly in the hands of the Arabs, its most lucrative branches, the export of slaves and musk, being considered alike infamous by the natives. The slaves are so numerous as to constitute a social danger, and so daring that their masters seldom venture to refuse their requisitions for fear of retaliation.

As they are idle, dishonest, and rapacious, the principal inducement to keep them is the profit made on the sale of their children, and they are thus reduced to the lowest depth of degradation by being simply kept as human stock. Their numbers are constantly recruited from the criminal class, enslavement being the usual judicial sentence for serious offences, more especially for witchcraft. The penalty for the latter offence extends to all the family of the accused, and during a scarcity of the human merchandise in 1860, the dealers persuaded the King to declare a number of people *budda*, or wizards, in order to increase the supply. This policy fell heavily on the Catholic missions, as many of the resulting accusations were directed against their converts, who had to be ransomed at large cost.

The etiquette of Kaffa prescribes that the King must never be seen by the public, and when he gives audience he is hidden behind a screen. He rides abroad in the solemn procession on the Feast of the Cross in September, but surrounded by guards who allow no one to approach within a quarter of a mile of his person on any side. The sacred national emblem, a flag apparently once Portuguese, is then borne by one of his

seven councillors, another of whom carries the royal umbrella, while the multitude prostrate themselves before the pavilion to which he repairs for a short time.

A strangely inconvenient usage of this country ordains that no one shall taste food save in the presence of a legal witness, belonging to the same caste as himself, and duly constituted to the office. The king is not exempt from this bondage, and should the royal appetite demand refreshment even during the night, he is bound to awaken the official charged with testifying to its gratification. The members of a family are generally witnesses for each other, while married people are obliged to eat and drink simultaneously from the same vessels, which long practice enables them to do without spilling a drop of their liquid contents. So sacred is this observance that its omission is ground for separation.

A no less harassing ceremonial must be observed on entering a house, even by its owner. Three signals of approach are prescribed at different stages of proximity, and at the threshold the incomer must stay his progress until met by those within. So inviolable is the custom that no evidence obtained by its omission is admissible, and its effect is to render domestic surprises impossible.

The upper classes never go out except on horse or mule back, and attended by a numerous mounted retinue. A lady of position rides forth in the centre of a group of cavaliers, each holding over her a great frond of the banana, so that she is roofed and canopied by a leafy bower. The Bishop found it necessary to conform to custom, and assert his dignity by riding in company with a troop of fifty men.

The death of an individual of importance is bewailed in a hut erected for the purpose, where the mourners not only howl and writhe in fearful contortions, but either gash their persons with knives, or at least feign to do so, so that they are seen streaming with blood—their own or that of an animal.

Kaffa has a speciality in its bread, called *coccio*, made from the glutinous sap contained in the midrib of the frond, two or three yards long, of the *ensete*, a species of banana. After being buried for some months it dries into flour, which is baked into long loaves of very ponderous weight. Coffee is, of course, a favourite beverage in its native land, and the best

flavoured is that which grows wild, so that the rich keep a tract of natural forest in order to enjoy it in perfection. Coriander berries are another product of the bush much relished by serpents.

The forest gives a home, too, to numbers of wild animals—lions, leopards, hyenas, foxes and jackals, civet-cats and pole-cats. Termites and black ants swarm in myriads, despite a formidable enemy—an ant-eater nearly as large as a pig, of such ghoulish proclivities that he will not only disinter human bodies for food, but will sometimes attack a living man. The water sheep is, as its name implies, an amphibious animal, much prized both for its flesh and for its peculiarly fine skin.

Although the musk of the civet-cat is the main article of export, the traffic in it, entirely in the hands of Mussulmans, is considered so infamous that even to visit the places where the animals are kept is contamination. As the fierce carnivore will not breed in captivity, it is captured when mature, in nets enclosing the thickets it is known to haunt. The captive animals are kept in open wicker cages, slung two and two on transverse bars in the open air, and are fed on raw meat and barley-gruel mixed with a quantity of butter. As one attendant suffices for twelve or fifteen, and as each yields two ounces of musk a month, which sells in Kaffa for a thaler, the creatures pay handsomely for their board and lodging, yet so great is the prejudice against those who keep them that the Bishop, when called in to prescribe for one of their number, was obliged to pay his visit in disguise and by night. Musk is sometimes adulterated with honey, and is usually transported in horns, but is occasionally smuggled in sticks of wax, which are impervious to its tell-tale odour.

The position of the Catholic priests in Kaffa, rendered uneasy by the intrigues of the native magicians, who had skilfully enlisted the royal influence on their side by putting the king at their head, became the more difficult with the growth of jealousy caused by their success. The cabal against them triumphed at last in a decree of banishment, and Mgr. Massaja, summarily arrested on August 23, 1861, was escorted to the frontier with rites and ceremonies strangely illustrative of the fantastic superstitions of his captors. The immediate occasion of his exile was the death of a marauding

dog, shot and buried by one of the servants of the mission. The crime lay in the latter act, the burial of a dog being supposed to constitute a form of maleficent spell. The *corpus delicti* was consequently exhumed and borne close to the reverend prisoner on his way to exile, with such mortification of his olfactory sense as may be easily imagined. The awe felt for him in his thaumaturgic capacity was at the same time evidenced by the exorcism practised on the way by a magician decorated with a monkey-skin hood, and carrying a vessel of blood with which he aspersed the road, in order to avert the displeasure of the divinity at the ill-usage of his great priest. At the last bridge, a sheep was slain, and after the carcase of the dog had been sprinkled with its blood, and thrown into the stream, the latter and the bridge crossing it were purified by the sacrifice of a fresh victim.

Consigned at the frontier by the messengers of the King of Kaffa to those of a neighbouring chief, he was conducted to Enàrea, where the death shortly after of Abba Baghibo, the friend of M. d'Abbadie, deprived him of his most zealous protector. The Mohammedan proclivities of his successor were displayed in an intermittent persecution, and the Bishop, finding his footing in Saka, the capital, too precarious for any permanent work to be effected there, took his final departure thence. After visiting the adjoining missions, where his preaching and that of his catechists brought about many fresh conversions, he left Galla-land, little dreaming at the time that he was never to set foot in it again.

His subsequent adventures in traversing Abyssinia constitute one of the most thrilling chapters of his eventful career. Re-entering Gojam with two companions in May 1863, he found the country devastated and reeking with the stench of putrefying cattle abandoned on the march by the soldiers of Theodore, then in the zenith of his baleful career. Captured by a marauding band, the Bishop and his companions were stripped of all they possessed and treated with the greatest harshness. Each chained by the foot to an Abyssinian soldier, they had to pass the night shivering on a plateau 10,000 feet above the sea in the rude company of their semi-savage guards. But the Bishop's chain-fellow, called in the native tongue *corregna*, could not resist the silent eloquence of his patience

and gentleness, and before long attested his regard for his prisoner by repulsing with energetic language the approaches of his former companions in evil. "Begone!" he said, "for you seem to me a sepulchre, while, as for this monk, I find such pleasure in being near him, that I would wish to be his *corregna* even after my death."

A second guardian appointed to conduct him to Theodore's camp fell still more completely under his sway, his final conquest being brought about by the Bishop's endurance of the wicked actions deliberately perpetrated by his gaoler in his presence in order to insult him. When it was proposed to relieve him of his office, he earnestly begged to retain it, though the uncertainty of Theodore's moods rendered appearance in his presence a danger even to his own subjects. During a march of eleven days, he lightened the captivity of his saintly companion by every means in his power, while he continued to receive instruction from him, and to advance daily in knowledge of the truth.

The royal camp was reached in the month of June 1863, through a valley expressively called "the place of shuddering," from the cruelties perpetrated in its vicinity. The ascent led thence up the scarped side of a mountain, whose table-topped summit, commanding a great expanse of country, afforded space for the quarters of 100,000 people. Huts and tents formed into separate groups, each called after the locality whence the soldiers occupying it were drawn, formed as it were a cordon of villages round the imperial camp, distinguished from the rest only by the prickly hedge enclosing it. Theodore was then absent on a foray, his return from which was signalised by the barbarous execution of his prisoners. So terrible an omen of their probable fate added to the heart-sickening anticipations with which the European travellers looked forward to their interview with him.

The summons came quickly, but the result was more favourable than they had dared to hope for. The dread Ethiopian, like so many of his race, succumbed to the overmastering influence of the Bishop's personality, and after a brief though stern cross-examination as to his motives and designs in coming to the country, dismissed him with the highest honours. "I have been vanquished by a monk," was his wondering remark

to those about him on the conclusion of the meeting. The *corregna*, who had been uncertain of his reception, was praised and rewarded for his kind treatment of his prisoner, and his account of his intercourse with him so impressed Theodore, that he formed the project of retaining the captive prelate as Abouna of Abyssinia.

The young convert, thus taken into the favour of his sovereign, received an unlooked-for recompense for his accessibility to good influences. A romantic attachment had existed between him and a niece of the King, who had refused his consent to their marriage and banished the lover from the court in consequence of his vicious and disorderly life. Recognising now the reality of his reformation, he spontaneously bestowed on him the hand of his young kinswoman, and their union was celebrated by Mgr. Massaja, as soon as both had received sufficient instruction. Leaving the camp immediately on their marriage, they continued to lead a most exemplary life, and had the joy of entertaining their spiritual benefactor under their roof during the delay interposed to his subsequent journey by the recurrence of the rainy season.

It was with the greatest reluctance that the unhappy Theodore allowed his illustrious visitor to depart, and the latter in many long and confidential colloquies with him, was impressed by the innate nobility of a nature corrupted by evil surroundings and the temptation of inordinate ambition. He describes, as follows, their last meeting, on July 20, 1863, when he was recalled to the Emperor's presence after having actually started from the camp.

The people about me, well knowing how strange and terrible of mood was Theodore, and not knowing what confidences had passed between him and me, suspected one of his usual furious outbursts, and began to tremble for my fate, but I, without discomposure, and with a cheerful countenance, passed through the Imperial enclosure. Admitted instantly to the inner tent, I found Theodore much agitated, and when I had made my salutation, he said to me: "Excuse me for having recalled you, but before you leave me, I desire that you should bless me and this country, because I have a presentiment that we shall not meet again." I, on my part, no less affected, and scarcely able to utter a word, raised my hand to bless him, and having repeated my inclination to him, departed almost in tears.

On the way, the presence of the man haunted me, and considering the gifts with which the Almighty had favoured him, the germs of good not

yet extinct in his heart, and the benefits he might have bestowed on this unhappy Abyssinia, I could not refrain from devoting to him a large share of my affections, and praying for his conversion and salvation. But these were barren vows, for after a wild and stormy life, he put an end to his existence by an act of rebellion against God and nature.

After having nearly succumbed to a terrible attack of fever on the way, Mgr. Massaja reached Massowah on November of the same year, and proceeded to Europe, making a convert on board the steamer which conveyed him to Suez, of the chief engineer, a Scotch Protestant. A pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and a visit to his native commune, where he was received with public rejoicings, were followed by a journey to Paris and an audience of the imperial pair who then held court there.

The next chapter of his apostolate consists of his compulsory residence in Shoa, through which kingdom he hoped to find an easier route to his Vicariate in Galla-land. Having rejected the offer of the English authorities to allow him to accompany the military expedition against Abyssinia then in preparation, he found his movements much hampered by its monopoly of all the available means of transport on the coast. This obstacle, together with the intrigues of the Emir of Zeila, delayed his departure from that port for many months, and it was only in February 1868 that he started for the dominions of Menelik, King of Shoa, bearing a letter from Queen Victoria to that monarch. His residence at a place called Licce, near Ankobar, the capital of his realm, was reached on March 6, and here or hereabouts, was passed the remainder, more than ten years, of Mgr. Massaja's missionary life.

A curious prophecy of his coming, long current in Shoa, greeted him on its frontier, where he was received by an Abyssinian Deftera, or secretary, deputed to that office by the King. This functionary met him as a friend whom he had been expecting for years, and explained the reason in the following curious narrative :

I had heard for years of the great Bishop of Rome and of the schismatic Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, and in my heart esteemed both, but having later learned from one of our monks who had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem the faith professed by each, their dignity, and the superiority of the first over the second, my affections turned to him, and I began to love his faith. Then hearing of the bad conduct of our Abouna Salama, and of the piety and modesty which adorned Abouna Jacob, head of the

missionaries in Tigre, I was still more confirmed in my belief and in my love for the Catholic faith. At last, hearing all speak of the good you were doing in Galla-land, and hoping that one day you would come amongst us, I had a Church built on my estate, and assigned to it lands for the maintenance of two priests, three deacons, and four choristers.

Meantime, whenever any one asked me for whom that Church was to serve, I always answered, for the holy priests that would come into our country. One night, the Madonna appeared to me in sleep, and said to me, that as your coming was certain, I should wait for you to bless the Church and ordain the priests and deacons. Then you left Kaffa, and I, and all who lived in that hope, believed for certain that you would pass through Shoa. But hearing that you had taken the way of Gojam, and had returned to your own country, we were discouraged, and lost all hope of having you amongst us. I, however, always trusting in the word of the Madonna, told every one that you would return, and that we must wait for you, but finding it impossible to leave the Church in that fashion, I was obliged to have it blessed by Salama, and to cede it to the priests ordained by him. Now that you have come, I will reassert my rights, and appoint it to your worship, for which it was constructed. I can trust the priests and deacons who have officiated in it, for they too, like me, love your faith and detest that of Salama.

"But I," was my rejoinder, "have not come to remain here long." "Oh," he replied. "the word of the Madonna is superior to our designs and intentions, and you will do what she wishes."

The confidence of this enthusiastic votary was justified by the subsequent course of events, overruling the cherished plans of the missionary traveller, and compelling him to bow to the will of an earthly monarch, the instrument in this case of a higher power.

The royal precincts of Shoa formed a town within the town, with ranges of courtyards opening one from another, and surrounded by different classes of buildings, such as granaries, ovens, stables, and all descriptions of workshops. Menelik, like other Ethiopian potentates, fell under the influence of Mgr. Massaja to a certain extent, but not sufficiently so to induce him to regulate his own life in accordance with his precepts. The present Negus of Abyssinia, then a very young man, had at the age of nineteen fallen under the influence of an ambitious and unscrupulous woman twenty years older than himself. The intrigues of the court centred round Bafana, for so Menelik's dusky queen was called, and placing herself at the head of the sectarian faction opposed to the Catholic priests, she was, as Mgr. Massaja believed, the cause of their eventual banishment by their royal patron. But the

politics of southern Ethiopia were, in the early part of their stay, governed, to the exclusion of internal dissensions, by the events passing in the northern part of the empire. Here the triumph of the English invasion enhanced Mgr. Massaja's credit with the king, inasmuch as it had been foretold by him, and the monarch perceived how great had been the error he committed in giving only a half-hearted support to the expedition. The fall of Magdala, and death of Theodore, on Holy Saturday, 1868, were celebrated in Shoa with great public rejoicing, though Menelik grieved in secret for his friend.

"I lost my first father [he said to Mgr. Massaja, in reference to this event] when a boy, my second is now taken from me, and I choose you as a third, that you may guide my actions by your counsel." His veneration for the Bishop was indeed of older standing than the latter had known of, as he had been in Theodore's camp during his stay there, and had known, like all Abyssinia, of his memorable moral victory over the tyrant. When the envoys from Galla-land came to solicit the return of their pastor, his Shoan Majesty therefore refused to sanction his departure, and they had reluctantly to return without him.

The religious divisions of Shoa rendered a section of its population at that time favourable to reunion with the Latin Church, and the visit of the Catholic missionaries naturally gave a great stimulus to the movement. A sect of the Abyssinian Church called the *sost ledet*, or *Devra Libanos*, holds tenets introduced from Syria at a very early date, by which the original Monophysite heresy is so modified as to be brought almost into conformity with the teaching of Rome. Not only were many of the priests and congregations of this sect converted *en masse* by the preaching of Mgr. Massaja, but there was a general desire that reunion with the Western Church should be officially proclaimed by his appointment as Abouna of Shoa. To this project, which might have dazzled a less sagacious man, he saw grave objections, of which the principal was the difficulty of bringing the prevailing moral standard into harmony with that of European Christianity. The nominal conversion of the nation without a corresponding reformation of manners would, in his view, have been worse than useless, and he confined his efforts to the instruction

and regeneration of individuals. His converts were included in the fierce persecution subsequently waged by the fanatical Ati-Johannes against the adherents of the *Devra Libanos*, and many of the priests reordained by him as Catholics had to fly into Galla-land, where they are probably working and preaching still.

Theological disputations were much affected by the Shoan divines, many of whom, though illiterate, had memories so prodigious that they carried a considerable store of learning in their heads. Their pupils, taught orally, could repeat in the morning almost *verbatim* the lecture delivered to them the night before.

The neighbouring regions of Abyssinia were still distracted by the struggle of the rival pretenders to the inheritance of Theodore, to which Menelik, by his vacillating attitude towards the English conquerors, had temporarily forfeited his claim. In order to recover his prestige he decided, since eating plays a large part in Ethiopian politics, to give a banquet to all comers on an unprecedented scale, and proclaimed its celebration on the great Abyssinian festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, in September 1870. We will let our author describe in his own words the preparations for the royal guests.

Let the reader [he says] imagine a square 200 metres each way, enclosed with wood and coloured cloths. Twelve rows of wooden columns festooned with draperies of various hues, supported, at a height of about 6 metres, the horizontal beams of the roof, also covered with cloth. Long festoons of leaves and flowers were intertwined with garlands and pendants of beads connecting the columns and sides of the hall. Lastly, a great variety of decorative objects wrought in the country, which I cannot characterise, as they have no names in our language, were tastefully arranged in the corners, on the walls, and in various parts of the hall. At the four sides were erected four large porches, closed by rich curtains, giving ingress to other large halls. In the front porch was the entrance door, and opposite to it rose the king's throne, while the side porches led into the halls where were stored the viands to be consumed each day by the guests.

In the great saloon were arranged 150 tables, so far apart that twelve people could sit comfortably at each. These tables were made of strips of cane woven like mats, resembling the hurdles used by us for rearing silkworms, but stronger. Each was supported on two cylindrical columns, made of whole canes, bound together by withes of dried grass. The natives, as we know, eat sitting on the ground, so these tables were

no more than 25 centimetres high. Neither were they covered with table-cloths, for these people do not, either in their own houses or at solemn banquets, use table-cloths, napkins, forks, or the countless other things invented and introduced for the service of the table by civilised people.

At both ends of each table rose a tower of *tavita*, those cakes of durra or *teff* flour weighing a good pound, used as bread by the Ethiopians. And as each tower contained 50 *tavite*, the twelve people seated at the table had before them 100 fresh loaves. This abundance, however, was ordered by the king, rather out of ostentation than from regard for the necessities of the guests, for since these people eat quantities of meat both cooked and raw at their banquets, each guest could scarcely eat two loaves as well.

The royal chair stood on a platform raised on eight steps on which sat the dignitaries of the kingdom. Behind it were tables for the King and his guests, and in an adjoining hall, richly decorated, those for the Queen and the ladies of the court.

To supply the *brondo*, or raw meat for the first day, one hundred beeves had been slaughtered, and an equal number were sacrificed on each of the two succeeding days, while the mighty draughts intended to wash down this tigerish repast were contained in one thousand vessels of beer and hydromel, holding two hundred litres each. The results anticipated from such an orgy were provided for by the appointment of men to carry off the intoxicated guests to adjoining rooms where they might sleep off the effects of their excesses. The extraordinary concourse attracted by the royal hospitality was quite commensurate with the preparations, and the King gave daily rations to ten thousand people. Nor did the entertainment fail in its object, for the fifteen thousand thalers it cost were so well laid out that Menelik was thenceforward constantly acclaimed as Emperor of Ethiopia, the dignity to which he eventually attained.

A period of humiliation and abasement, however, intervened before he could style himself so, as the title was first conferred on the military adventurer, Besbes Kassa, crowned at Axum by Athanasios, the new Abouna, on January 21, 1872. The rise to supreme power of this fanatical freebooter was fatal to the Catholic missions. After the triumphant conclusion of his campaign against Egypt he turned his arms against his rebellious vassal, the King of Shoa, and the latter, crushed and defeated in the field, was compelled to purchase

an ignominious peace by the sacrifice of his guests. Summoned to the imperial headquarters early in 1878, Mgr. Massaja, with his coadjutor, Mgr. Taurin Cahagne, and Father Louis Gonzaga, was compelled for weeks to accompany the army on its march and witness the devastation wrought by its passage. After a brief audience they were summarily dismissed by the surly tyrant, and ordered to leave his dominions, but Menelik succeeded in postponing, until the following year, the execution of the decree. When its enforcement could be no longer delayed they were, with a refinement of cruelty, compelled to make the circuitous and unhealthy journey home through the Egyptian Soudan, where they lost many of their younger companions from the deadly effects of the climate.

Mgr. Massaja himself, already aged by his life of toil, reached Europe broken in health, to finish his days in the convent of his order at Frascati. Here, in August 1884, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his episcopate, he received the Cardinal's Hat, one of many proofs of esteem and regard bestowed on him by the present Pope. Temporal honours he had long before declined, for when, in 1880, the insignia of Grand Officer of the Crown of Italy were brought to him by the Minister of Justice, he replied, with the courageous candour which was part of his disposition, that he, a humble missionary of the Propaganda, could accept no favours from a Government which had plundered that great institution of its funds and revenues.

The task of compiling the record of his wonderful career was undertaken by him in obedience to the Pope. This monumental work, which for a less active spirit might well have been the occupation of a lifetime, was written in the closing years of his life from unaided memory, all notes and journals having been sequestered on his exile from Kaffa in 1861. It has the double interest of an autobiography and a book of travels, and in each category deserves to rank with the masterpieces of its kind. Although never tedious, it runs to the length of ten folio volumes, and the fact that its great bulk renders its reproduction in another language almost impossible, must be our apology for presenting to our readers so inadequate an abstract of its contents.

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. IV.—THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE CISALPINE CLUB.

IT was at the meeting of the Cisalpine Club on the 12th of May 1795 that the practice was first introduced of entering in the minute book the names of those who were proposed as members. Lord Dormer was proposed on this occasion. All those previously balloted for are mentioned without their names. “A gentleman was balloted for,” or (so many) “gentlemen were balloted for.” As a list of the members will accompany this article, we shall make no further mention of their election.

At the two next meetings no business is entered, except authorising the secretary to lay in a hogshead of claret from Mr. Selby.

At the second meeting, in the year 1796, held on the 8th of March, “a letter from Miss Macnamara, and another from Mrs. Silburn, having been communicated to the club by the secretary, respecting the distresses of the French emigrants, it was resolved that a collection should be immediately made in the box sent for that purpose for the relief of the persons mentioned in those letters, and that the secretary should write to those members of the club who were absent, to inform them of this circumstance, and to request a subscription for the relief of the said persons.” The money immediately collected was £35 9s., which the secretary was ordered to transmit to Miss Macnamara to be applied in such a manner as the ladies of the Charitable Society should think proper. The letters of the two ladies are not entered in the minute book, but the rather formal replies of the secretary are inserted, as well as his letter to the absent members. In this letter he speaks of “the distresses of the French emigrants in London, who, from the suspension of the allowance formerly made to them, are now reduced to a state of extraordinary misery.” He mentions also that he has a box at his chambers where any gentleman may deposit his contribution.

At the three following meetings for the year 1796 no business was transacted. The first meeting for the year 1797

was held on the 14th of February: Mr. Witham was elected secretary for the ensuing year, Mr. Cruise having received the thanks of the club. On this occasion the dinner was ordered at eight shillings a head, six shillings a head having been hitherto the order. Nothing particular occurred at the four remaining dinners this year, except that at the meeting on the 18th of April it is noticed that "George Heneage, Esq., complimented the company with champagne, having this day received his commission as captain of the North Lincolnshire Supplementary Militia." It was also ordered that the secretary be authorised to lay in six dozen of port from Mr. Selby. The appointment of Mr. Heneage to a captaincy in the Militia was a great event, for it was in the previous year (1796) that, as Mr. Butler tells us, "Lord Petre raised and equipped, at his own expense, a body of two hundred and fifty men, and requested the command of them for his son. His request was refused, and Mr. Petre served in the ranks." The occasion of raising the men was, we suppose, the attempt of the French under General Hoche to invade Ireland.

At the first meeting in the year 1798 a committee was formed to inquire into the state of the finances. They found that there was a balance against the club of £9 13s. 8d., besides a debt to Mr. Selby for wine of £74 14s. It was arranged that the debt should be cleared off by a subscription of two guineas, or any larger sum, from the members who were regular attendants, and of one guinea from those who usually resided in the country. The yearly subscription was also raised to four guineas. For the year 1798 it would appear that no secretary was elected; several gentlemen having acted in that capacity until the meeting on the 12th of March 1799 when Mr. Cruise was again elected. From this time the minute book shows no business of any sort transacted, with the exception of ordering six dozen of port from Mr. Selby, until the dinner on the 12th of May 1801, when the following entry occurs: "It was ordered that whenever the usual day of meeting of the club shall be a fast-day, or a day of abstinence, the secretary shall appoint the subsequent Tuesday for the meeting of the club." The five meetings of the club during the year 1802 were held at Mollard's Hotel. Besides the dinner, the renewed election of

Mr. Cruise as secretary, and the usual balloting for members, nothing was done.

At the five meetings for the year 1803 the only business, besides ordering port of Mr. Selby, related to a picture of the late Lord Petre.* His lordship was one of the founders of the club, and had always taken an active part in its proceedings. The club desired to have his portrait, and asked his son, then Lord Petre, to present a print of one already taken. This Lord Petre did, and the question then was what to do with it. A committee was appointed, and recommended that it should be inserted into the back of a chair to be used by the chairman at the annual dinners. The club did not approve of this idea, and added Sir Henry Englefield to the committee for further consideration, at the same time thanking Lord Petre for his gift, and asking him to co-operate with the committee in considering what further suggestion could be made to perpetuate the memory of his father. The dinners during this year, and for many years afterwards, were at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand. In reference to the portrait of Lord Petre, the club after all decided upon the chair plan ; for at the dinner in May 1804 the club desired the committee to make their report, which they accordingly did at the June meeting. We copy the report and its consequences *verbatim* from the minute book :

Mr. Clifford, from the committee appointed for placing the engraving of the late Lord Petre in the club-room, reported that, in obedience to the orders of this club at the last meeting, the said committee had met, and having approved of a plan of a chair presented to them, had ordered the chair to be made according to such plan. Resolved: That the report be received. Ordered: That the chair be brought in. Resolved: That the chair brought in meets the approbation of the club.

This was all the business done in the year 1804. Either Cisalpinism was dying out, or the presence of " Boney " just on the other side of the Straits of Dover, put everything else out of the heads of the members of the Cisalpine Club. During this year the dinners were very badly attended ; even at the June meeting there were only thirteen members present. Many of the members were probably with the Militia regiments. No

* This was the Lord Petre whose name has occurred several times in the course of this article.

new secretary had been appointed, so far as appears on the minutes, since the appointment of Mr. Cruise in 1799, and several gentlemen, chiefly Mr. William Throckmorton, seem to have acted for the day. During the year 1805 nothing was done with the exception of a final resolution relating to the "Petre chair." This was a vote of thanks to the committee for their labours in the matter. "Mr. Simpkin," who, we suppose, was the landlord of the Crown and Anchor, "was ordered and undertook to keep a sufficient quantity of the port and madeira approved of by Lord Shrewsbury for the drinking of the club."

At the first meeting of the club in the year 1806, the time for paying the bill after dinner was again changed and appointed to be at ten o'clock, and after that hour no expenses, except for tea and coffee, were to be paid by the treasurer. At this meeting Mr. Butler moved and Mr. Stapleton seconded a vote of thanks to Sir John Throckmorton "for the pamphlet lately published by him on the debate which took place last year in both Houses of Parliament on the Irish Catholic Petition, and that he be requested to present to the secretary a copy of the same, to be kept among the papers and records of this club." It is not said in the minutes that this resolution was carried, but we conclude that it was, as at the next meeting a vote of thanks to Sir John was passed "for the present of his late publication." We have not seen that pamphlet, but we imagine it to have been a little Cisalpinism cropping up again. Sir John's writings were very decidedly Cisalpine, and indeed in some of them he showed himself to be more Gallican than the Gallicans themselves. It is not likely, however, that there was in the pamphlet anything contrary to the teaching of the Church as then defined, as, if there had been, Mr. Butler would not have recommended the publication to the club. At the meeting in March Mr. Throckmorton reported a balance of £12 17s. 1d. in favour of the club, and then moved that Mr. Prujean be appointed secretary in his room, which was voted unanimously. From this I suppose that Mr. Throckmorton had been appointed secretary without limitation of office to one year. This is confirmed by the fact that Mr. Prujean and his successors each remained in office for several years without any annual re-election. At the meeting

in April, a practice was commenced of entering in the minute-book the quantity and the kind of wine drunk at each meeting. At this meeting the entry is "twenty bottles of wine were drunk, viz., four of port, four of madeira, and twelve of claret." Dinner had been ordered for fourteen, but there were only ten present ; so that the amount drunk was an average of two bottles each—a pretty good allowance, but, still, not more than might have been expected in those days. One thing to be noticed with regard to the wine is the small amount of port which was drunk in comparison with the quantity of other wines. This proportion continued up to the dissolution of the club in the year 1830. For about nine years of the twenty-four years from 1806 to 1830 the amount of wine drunk is not mentioned. In the years 1806 and 1807, port, madeira, and claret were drunk, but claret in by far the largest quantity. Occasionally, about the year 1812, claret was the only wine drunk. From the year 1818 to the year 1824 no port was drunk ; the wines served were claret and sauterne, and two or three times moselle. From 1824 up to 1830 port was drunk in increasing quantity, but claret was still the favourite. About the year 1824 sauterne drops out of the list, and champagne and moselle take its place. There is no mention of sherry at any of the dinners. The average amount of wine drunk by each gentleman at the meetings was higher in 1806 and 1807 than at any other time recorded in the minute-book. The greatest quantity at any one meeting was on February 10th, 1807, when eight gentlemen (Lord Shrewsbury, Messrs. H. Clifford, Walmesly, Lloyd, Prujean, Cruise, and two Messrs. Langdale) drank twenty-one bottles—six of port, four of madeira, and eleven of claret. During the last twelve years of the club the average never reached two bottles each, and was sometimes not much over one apiece.

At the April meeting in the year 1807 it was moved by Mr. Silvertop and seconded by Mr. Charlton :

That the opinion of the Cisalpine Club be taken at its next meeting, being the 12th of May, on the following question: "Whether it be advisable under existing circumstances to call a meeting of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain," and "That the Club be invited to assemble at three o'clock on the said day in this house (the 'Crown and Anchor') to consider of the propriety of the above-mentioned question."

On the 12th of May the names of the gentlemen present, with the exception of "Marmaduke Langdale, Esq.," the chairman, are not entered. "The club assembled pursuant to the resolution at the last meeting, and at five o'clock the chairman took the chair. Mr. Silvertop withdrew his motion. Sir John Throckmorton moved and Sir Henry Englefield seconded: 'That the thanks of the Club be given to Mr. Silvertop for his zeal in calling the attention of the club to the present circumstances of the Catholics.'" The circumstances were, that a fortnight before the meeting at which Mr. Silvertop proposed his resolution Lord Grenville's Ministry of "All the Talents" had been forced to resign in consequence of the opposition of the king to the introduction of any Catholic Relief Bill into Parliament. The Duke of Portland's Ministry, commonly called the "No Popery Ministry," had succeeded to power. The whole country was roused against the Catholics, and of the state of things which existed Lord Russell says in his "Recollections," that it "was the proceeding the most discreditable to the English people of any that has occurred in my time." The reason why the Cisalpine Club declined to interfere does not appear; it may have been because, in face of the troubles, the club saw that it could not "by opposing end them," and that the best policy was to bow before the storm; or it may have been because the members of the club thought that they were not in a position to call a public meeting of the Catholic body. At the same meeting, on May the 12th, Sir Henry Englefield produced a printed paper intituled "An Address from His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects," and moved that it should be signed by all the gentlemen present, which being seconded by Mr. Silvertop, all the gentlemen present, except two, signed the same. A vote of thanks was carried to Mr. Butler for having prepared the address.* The dinners in the month of June were usually better attended than any of the other meetings; but the dinner on the 9th of June was the smallest in the history of the Club. Only four members were present. In consequence of this, balloting for members could not take place; but a resolution proposed at the previous dinner was voted, making "the memory of the

* This address is to be seen in Mr. Butler's "Historical Memoirs."

late Lord Petre a standing toast of the club." Besides the meeting on the 12th of May 1807, it appears from the minute-book that there was another meeting on the 19th of the same month, but the minutes of it are entered immediately after the June meeting. The proceedings at this meeting of the 19th of May may account for the smallness of the attendance on the 9th of June, for Dr. Collins moved: "That it is the general resolution of the gentlemen here present not to attend at the next meeting of the Cisalpine Club, and that a committee be now appointed to consider of the measures to be pursued afterwards. The Committee was formed, and Messrs. Cruise, Butler, and Throckmorton, at the next meeting on the 26th of April 1808, made the following report :

In compliance with the direction of a meeting held last year to consider of forming a new club, we recommend that the club retain the name of Cisalpine Club, and the principal rules and regulations of it, with the rules following :

That any member may in future be liable to be expelled by a motion regularly made and seconded at one meeting, and balloted for at a subsequent meeting, by the votes of two-thirds of the members present at such subsequent meeting.

That there be three meetings and no more in each year, to be held on the second Tuesdays in April, May, and June.

That the subscription be three guineas, and that persons in town only on any one day pay only one guinea, and that the minutes of the former club be bound up and adopted by this club.

On the motion of Lord Shrewsbury, seconded by Lord Dormer, the above resolutions were received and adopted unanimously. Thanks were voted "to the three gentlemen who were entrusted with the framing the resolutions of the Club," and Mr. Prujean was requested to continue secretary, with which request he complied. The memory of the late Lord Petre was still to be a toast under the new arrangement, and it was ordered to be drunk immediately after "The King." It was also unanimously resolved "that the third toast of the club should be "The Roman Catholic Committee of the year 1791."

The minutes of the last two meetings, both in their substance and in their wording, afford matter for speculation. There had evidently been in the club what in plain English we should

call a row; but about what and to what extent the minutes do not reveal. It appears, indeed, that there was a strike against five dinners a year, and the resolution about expulsion rather suggests the idea that some one had deserved it.* The

* His Lordship the Bishop of Clifton having kindly read this article in manuscript, wrote the following letter to the writer :

MY DEAR FR. AMHERST,

In your article on the Minute Book of the Cisalpine Club, after describing the two meetings, held one on the 9th day of June 1807, and the other shortly before that—viz., on the 19th of the previous May—you remark: "The minutes of the last two meetings, both in their substance and in their wording, afford matter for speculation. There had evidently been in the club what in plain English we should call a row; but about what and to what extent the minutes do not reveal. It appears that there was a strike against five dinners a year, and the resolution about expulsion rather suggests the idea that some one had deserved it." An amusing anecdote, related to me some forty years ago by my father, Lord Clifford, will, I think, help to throw light on these speculations. The individual against whom the resolution about expulsion was directed is Mr. Henry Clifford, well known at the time as Counsellor Clifford, leader of the O. P. riots. He was one of the original members of the Cisalpine Club. He was a talented man, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and, as appears from the minute-book, he took the chair at the first meeting of the club on the 12th of April 1792, being only twenty-four years of age. That he enjoyed for several years the confidence of the members is apparent from the fact that he was elected secretary to the club three consecutive years, and it was at his own request (as stated in the minutes, 10th Feb. 1795) that he was not then re-elected for the fourth time. However, after a time serious differences arose between him and the other members of the club. What was the cause of these differences I do not remember to have heard my father say. Perhaps his connection with the O. P. riots may have given offence. That he was one of those members who resisted the reduction of the number of dinners may be surmised from what is stated in the minutes of the meeting of 10th Feb. 1807. And if he was one of the two dissentients from the proceedings of May 12th of that same year, we may conclude that he disagreed from the other members as to the course adopted by the club in relation to Catholic affairs. Whatever was the reason—and perhaps there was more than one—Mr. Clifford had grown quite out of sympathy with the other members, and they determined, so my father told me, to get rid of him. But the difficulty was how to do it. He was requested to withdraw his name, but this he resolutely refused to do, and there was no provision made in the rules of the club for the expulsion of obnoxious members. They consulted Mr. Charles Butler, and he advised them that the only way in which they could attain their object was for all the members to withdraw and so bring the present club to an end. The same individuals might then meet and form a new club, excluding Mr. Clifford, with the same rules as the former club, but with additional clauses giving power to expel obnoxious members, and restricting the club dinners to three in the year. It was necessary, for the due carrying out of this plan, to make sure that all the members without exception withdrew their names from the existing club: otherwise, if the greater number withdrew, but a few remained, the majority would rest excluded by their own act and the club would henceforth be carried on by the minority, who might add to their number and act as they pleased. The minutes show the precautions that were taken, and the manner in which the concerted plan was carried out. After the ordinary meeting of May 12th, 1807, a special meeting was held on the 19th of the same month. At this meeting a resolution was passed by all the members present not to attend the next meeting of the Cisalpine Club, and a committee was appointed, consisting of Mr. C. Butler,

only practical result of the little revolution seems to have been that the members dined together three times a year instead of five times. The resolution about toasting the committee of 1791 shows that the principles of the new Cisalpine Club were the same as those of the old one. It was in this year (1808) that the Catholic Board was established, and it is possible some may have thought one Catholic organisation enough. The Cisalpine Club, however, outlived the Board, and lasted for two and twenty years more. There was at this time a considerable accession of members. In the year 1809 the meetings were well attended, but no business of importance was transacted. At the first meeting in the year 1810 the amount of the annual subscription was again changed, and it was resolved unanimously that it should be two guineas and a half

Mr. Cruise, and Mr. Throgmorton, "to consider the measures to be pursued afterwards"—i.e., to carry out the plan arranged by Mr. C. Butler. The next meeting was due on the 9th of June, when, according to the preconceived plan, none of the members put in an appearance, except the three committeemen, and, of course, Mr. Clifford. There were only four members present; consequently no new members could be balloted for, and the three committeemen had come duly provided with letters from all the other members, requesting that their names be withdrawn from the list of members of the club. Their requests having been granted, the three committeemen withdrew their own names also, and then intimated to Mr. Clifford that now there were no more members belonging to the Cisalpine Club, and that in consequence there could be no more meetings at which he could attend. "Oh! but," replied Mr. Clifford, "I have not withdrawn my name from the club, and as I am the only surviving member, the assets of the club rest with me: I claim the wine cellar." There was no help for it; Mr. Butler had not thought of the stock of wine belonging to the club (see minutes of 1805), and had made no provision to secure it for the new club. The rest of his plan was duly carried out, as recorded in the minutes. In April of the following year the new club was established, with the same name and the same members, Mr. Clifford only excluded. But Mr. Clifford got the wine. I think also that he got possession of the President's chair, for in the minutes of a meeting held in May 1816 (three years after the death of Mr. Clifford) "the president (Mr. Cruise) informed the meeting that Julia Lady Petre had presented the club with a handsome chair, in which he presided, and moved that the thanks of the club be presented to her ladyship for the same by Mr. Edward Petre." This, I think, was no other than the handsome chair repeatedly referred to in the minutes of the years 1803-4. In the back was inserted a portrait of the ninth Lord Petre, one of the original founders of the club, presented by Lord Petre, his son. This chair (in addition to the stock of wine) formed apparently the only property belonging to the club at the time when Mr. Clifford was left sole surviving member. After his death, which took place in 1813, Lady Petre most probably managed to get possession of it, and presented it to the new club.

I remain, my dear Fr. Amherst,

Yours most sincerely,

✠ WILLIAM CLIFFORD.

BISHOP'S HOUSE, CLIFTON,
March 3, 1892.

a year, whether the member should attend or not. At the June meeting in 1810 it was resolved "that in future the first meeting of the club, instead of being held on the second Tuesday in April, shall always be held on the first Tuesday after Low Sunday." In the year 1811, besides some financial arrangements, and ordering six dozen claret of Mr. Selby, the only business of importance was the appointment of Mr. Francis William Talbot as secretary, in place of Mr. Prujean resigned. Mr. Prujean received the thanks of the club for his faithful discharge of the office of secretary. At the first meeting in the year 1812 the secretary reported "that the following gentlemen had withdrawn their names from the club: Edward Darell, Charles Conolly, Thomas Stapleton, Charles Bodenham, John Prujean, and Edward Howard." It would be interesting to know why so many left in a body. A good many new members, however, joined during this year. At the June meeting in this year it was decided to change the place of meeting for the future from the "Crown and Anchor" to the "Thatched House Tavern" in St. James's Street, and also the hour of meeting from six to seven o'clock. The "Thatched House" was continued as the place of meeting until the dissolution of the club in the year 1830; and after that the Emancipation Club, which succeeded to the Cisalpine, had their dinners in the same tavern, until the club broke up in the year 1847. In the year 1813 the dinners were well attended, but no business was done.

At the April meeting in the year 1814, and on the motion of Lord Dormer, seconded by Sir John Throckmorton, the annual subscription was again changed and raised to three guineas. At the same time the charge for a visitor was raised to one guinea and a half. At the April meeting in the year 1815, the secretary informed the club that Dr. Goldie had instructed him to withdraw his name. The largest meeting of the club, with the exception of the one when O'Connell was blackballed, was held on the 13th of June, 1815, which was just five days before the battle of Waterloo. It is not difficult to imagine the animated conversation which must have taken place at this dinner. It is not mentioned how many bottles of wine were drunk on this occasion, but it must have been a respectable quantity, as for the thirty-two

gentlemen present the bill amounted to £62 15s. At the May meeting of the year 1816 the president (Mr. Cruise) informed the meeting that Julia Lady Petre had presented the club with a handsome chair, in which he presided, and moved that the thanks of the club be presented to her ladyship for the same by Mr. Edward Petre, which was unanimously agreed to, and he undertook to present the same accordingly. During all the years about this time many new members joined the club, which was fast losing its Cisalpine character, and becoming a mere dining club. This is evident, judging from the names of some of those gentlemen who allowed themselves to be proposed. At the June dinner in the year 1817, the secretary "informed the meeting that Mr. Marmaduke Langdale, Mr. Robert Canning, and Mr. John Wright had withdrawn their names from the club." The finances of the club were in a flourishing condition. At the meeting in May 1818, the secretary having announced that Mr. Scully had withdrawn his name from the club, said that there was a balance of £61 18s. 3*d.* in favour of the club, a committee was appointed to consider and report as to the best mode of disposing of that sum. At the following June meeting the committee reported that they had purchased some claret and moselle for immediate consumption, and recommended purchasing half a hogshead of claret. With the exception of an announcement by the secretary that he had purchased wine, no business was done until the first meeting in the year 1821, on the 8th of May, when, on the motion of Mr. Edward Blount, seconded by Lord Arundell, the amount of subscription was again altered, and the manner of subscribing was changed. It was resolved:

That the annual subscription of each member shall in future be one guinea; that each member dining at the club shall pay one guinea towards the expense of the dinner provided, such payment with the annual subscription shall not amount to more than three guineas in any one year, and that each new member shall, immediately on his election, pay five guineas entrance, and if not paid at or before the then next meeting the election to be void.

Mr. Edward Petre had given notice of a new rule, but at this meeting, when it should have come on for the ballot, he withdrew it. As the resolution contained a very useful

admonition, though it probably would not have passed the ballot, I give it as follows: "That any member who shall in future give any dinner in London on any of the days of the meeting of the club shall forfeit five guineas for the benefit of the club." At this meeting Mr. Charles Turvile, who during the illness of Mr. Talbot had been acting as secretary, was elected treasurer and secretary on Mr Talbot's decease. The secretary then informed the club "that William Cruise, Esq., and George Petre, Esq., had withdrawn their names from the club." At the close of the year 1821 the balance in the hands of the treasurer was £110 11s. A committee was formed to consider the best way of appropriating the balance, but no report from them appears in the minute-book. At the meeting on the 8th of April 1823, on the motion of Sir Edward Blount, Bart., and seconded by James Whible, Esq., it was unanimously resolved that "The Cause of Civil and Religious Liberty" be a standing toast of the club. At the meeting on the 10th of June 1823 "the secretary for the time being" (Mr. George Eyston) "read a letter from Charles Butler, Esq., one of the members of the club, giving notice that at the first meeting next year he should give notice of a motion to alter the name of the club to that of 'The Catholic Club,' which several members present stated they should oppose. But at the first meeting in April 1824, "Mr. Butler declined giving any notice of a motion to alter the name of the club." This motion of Mr. Butler's seems to show that, so far at least as he was concerned, there was no intention of transacting any more of what may be called "Cisalpine business." He must also have thought that such was the intention of the bulk of the members. He withdrew the notice, no doubt because the opposition to his motion would have been sufficient to reject it. What Mr. Butler's motive was precisely in wishing to change the name of the club we do not know. Though a man who had very strong convictions, he was eminently one who desired to be conciliatory. It is very probable that he thought it was no longer necessary to mark a distinction which was the cause of a want of complete union amongst the Catholics of England. At the next meeting "the secretary read a letter from James Wheble, Esq., directing him to erase his name from the list of members of the club." With the exception of resolutions about getting in

wine and about subscriptions in arrear, no other business was done until the April meeting in the year 1826, when Mr. Edward Petre proposed and Mr. Cholmeley seconded a motion that "The Surviving Members of the Committee of 1791" be a standing toast of the club. But at the June meeting, when that proposition should have come on, Mr. Eyston, of Hundred, proposed and Lord Arundell seconded a motion, which was unanimously agreed to, "That as there was but one surviving member of the committee of 1791, Mr. Petre should be communicated with before his motion should be brought forward." Mr. Petre accordingly withdrew his motion. The one surviving member was Mr. Butler. In consequence of the appointment of a committee to examine the accounts of the club, it met at the chambers of the secretary in Gray's Inn. As one result of this inquiry the members of the committee reported to the club that the arrears amounted to no less a sum than £270 and upwards." On the recommendation of the committee the two following rules were voted at the April meeting in the year 1827 :

That in case any member shall neglect to pay his annual subscription, due on the second Tuesday after Easter, for the term of five years, notice shall be sent to him by the secretary, and if not paid within three months after such notice, the defaulter shall cease to be a member of the club, and his name shall be erased from the books accordingly. That the arrears now due from each member of the club shall be calculated at the rate of one guinea per annum from the time the arrear commenced.

During this year Mr. Edward Petre and Colonel Stonor proposed to increase the number of dinners from three to four in the course of the year. This, and a proposition of the same kind made in the following year by Colonel Stonor, backed by Mr. George Fortescue Turville, were rejected by the club.

At the June meeting in the year 1827,

It was proposed by Edward Blount, Esq., and seconded by the Hon. Philip Stourton, "That a sum of one hundred guineas from the funds of the club be expended in the purchase of plate to be offered to Charles Turville, Esq., as a testimony of gratitude for his valuable services in conducting the affairs of the club.

This proposition was unanimously agreed to at the first meeting of the club in the year 1828. At the June meeting

in the same year, on the motion of Mr. Francis Canning, seconded by Sir Edward Blount, it was unanimously resolved that Messrs. Edward Blount, John Gage, and Michael Jones should form a committee to confer with the secretary and carry into effect the above resolution. This vote resulted in the purchase of a very handsome salver, on which the names of all the then members, and also the names of the deceased and retired members were engraved, and it was presented to Charles Turvile by the chairman, the Hon. Philip Stourton, at the April meeting of the club in the year 1830, the day on which the Cisalpine Club was dissolved. Charles Turvile died on the 29th of June 1839, in consequence of an accident at the Rugby station. By his will he left the salver as an heirloom in the family of Fortescue Turvile, of Bosworth Hall, he being at the time of his death the second son of the then possessor. It may interest some to know that John Gage and Michael Jones were put upon the testimonial committee because they were both lovers of art and men of taste. Gage, afterwards Gage Rokewode, was well known amongst antiquarians as a man of extensive information, and Michael Jones, though not so publicly known, was a learned antiquary. Colonel Talbot, a relation and intimate friend of Charles Turvile, and Thomas Stapleton, another learned antiquarian, had been added to the committee.

At the April meeting in the year 1828 the secretary announced that he had a balance in his hands of £175 13s. 5d., and the then stock of wine consisted of 18 bottles of moselle, 19 bottles of port, and 240 bottles of claret; that the average consumption of wine for the last seven years had been 42 bottles of claret, 21 of moselle, 13 of port, and 22 of champagne in every year; that the average receipts for the last seven years had been about £138 per annum, and the expenditure during the same time £121, leaving an average balance in favour of the club of about £17 per annum. From this it appears that the club was in a flourishing condition, and yet its end was fast approaching.

The royal assent was given to the Emancipation Act on the 13th of April 1829. On the 28th of the same month the first meeting of the club was held for that year. There were twenty-five members present. After dinner, "on the motion

of Sir Edward Vavasour, seconded by Francis Cholmeley, Esq., it was proposed that, in consequence of the recovery of those just rights which it was the original object of this club to effect, a committee be named at our next meeting to report how far any and what alterations may be desirable in the rules and constitution of the club." At the next meeting, on the 12th day of May, that proposition having been balloted for, was rejected. It is not surprising that Sir Edward Vavasour was not able to pass his resolution, for that resolution did not express the object for which the Cisalpine Club was formed, which was to perpetuate the principles of the committee of 1791. What good the club did was, as we have seen, more accidental work than work for which the club was founded. From the year 1808, when the Catholic Board was established, and from 1823, when the Catholic Association was commenced, the Cisalpine Club had no pretence for interfering in the management of Catholic affairs.

But the rejection of Sir Edward Vavasour's motion was unfortunately not the last act which the club did previous to its dissolution; for on the same day on which that motion was proposed, and just a fortnight after the passing of the Emancipation Act, Daniel O'Connell, Esq., was proposed to become a member of this club by James Langdale, Esq., and seconded by Thomas Stonor, jun., Esq. (the late Lord Camoys), and was to be balloted for at the next meeting. That next meeting, which was held on the 12th day of May 1829, was the largest meeting of the Cisalpine Club which had been held since its foundation, and at that meeting O'Connell was blackballed. There were thirty-seven members present. Howards, Talbots, Blounts, Throckmortons, Arundells and Jerninghams were well represented; there were only two or three gentlemen at the dinner who were not members of some old English Catholic family. A stranger, walking down St. James's Street that evening, but one who happened to know what was going on at the "Thatched House Tavern," would have supposed that the Catholic gentlemen of England were going to admit into their club by acclamation the man to whom they were chiefly indebted for the passing of the great Act, the man who might have excluded them from the emancipation which he had won, and left them to fight their own

battle for liberty. But they were trooping down to exclude their Liberator from their company. This generous act was of course often spoken of in days gone by, and in those days I never heard but one explanation. It was this: the English Catholic Association had done something which offended many of the Catholics in England, and particularly those of Manchester. They appealed to O'Connell, who mentioned the matter at a meeting of the Association in Dublin. He said, amongst other things, "that the English Catholic Association thought themselves so superior to the Catholics of their own country and the Irish Association, although they were no more to the latter than a cock-boat to a man-of-war, or a canoe following in the wake of a seventy-four, and if they were expected to arrive at the haven of emancipation, it must be under the lee and protection of the Irish Catholic Association." The words were undoubtedly very stinging. They were not forgiven. Five years afterwards the Catholic gentlemen of England blackballed the man who uttered them, though he was the man who in the meantime had emancipated them. It may be also added that O'Connell's language often gave offence; for there were many English gentlemen, Protestants and Catholics, who were not at all particular in their choice of words when speaking of O'Connell, but who were mightily fastidious in regard to the words which O'Connell took from his copious vocabulary when speaking of them. Such was the last act of the Cisalpine Club previous to its dissolution.

It is interesting to know what O'Connell himself thought about his having been blackballed at the Catholic clubs. Writing to a friend in Dublin he says:

Have you heard of the conduct of the English Catholics towards me? They have here a club called the Cisalpine—a bad name you will say. They have been much divided amongst themselves and were soon all about to reunite. I agreed to be proposed into it, when, behold! they met the day before yesterday and blackballed me. I believe, however, it has knocked up the club, as Howard of Corby tells me, and several others at once declared that they will never come near the club again. Mr. Blount has behaved extremely well on this occasion, and no man could behave better. I believe there are many of them highly indignant at the conduct of the rest, and at all events I heartily forgive them all. But it was a strange thing for them to do. It was a comical testimonial of my services

in emancipating them. It would be well perhaps if I could unemancipate some of them.*

Two more meetings were held. The dinner on the 9th of June was well attended. Including two visitors, there were twenty-eight gentlemen present, Lord Stafford being in the chair. On the removal of the cloth the secretary read letters from Sir Edward Vavasour, Mr. Howard, Mr. Gage Rookwood, and Mr. Berkeley, requesting that their names might be erased from the list of the members of the club.

It was then proposed by Mr. Edward Blount and seconded by Mr. Butler :

That the Cisalpine Club be dissolved, and that all the members be invited to become original members of a new club to be named the Club of 1829. That a committee of not less than six members of the Cisalpine Club be chosen to select rules and regulations adapted for the government of the new club. That the same committee be empowered to add to the original members of the new club.

The last meeting of the Cisalpine Club was held on the 20th of April 1830. Twenty-six members and two visitors sat down to dinner. The Hon. Philip Stourton was in the chair.

"The secretary read a letter from Mr. Towneley requesting his name might be withdrawn." The last member proposed at the club was then balloted for and elected—Charles Edward Jerningham.

A ballot was also taken for the motion proposed by Edward Blount and seconded by Mr. Butler, and which was carried in the following terms: "That the Cisalpine Club be dissolved and that all the members be invited to become original members of a new club, and that a committee of not less than six members of the Cisalpine Club be chosen to select rules and regulations adapted for the government of the new club."

This club was then accordingly dissolved.

The Cisalpine Club was originally formed on unsound principles. The later members of the club did not, generally speaking, hold those principles, and it was well known that

* This letter is dated from London, May 12, 1829, in the O'Connell Correspondence. The Mr. Blount mentioned in the letter was the late Mr. Edward Blount of Bellamore, secretary to the English Catholic Association, and whose name has frequently occurred in this article.

they did not. They joined the club for the sake of the society which it afforded. Mr. Butler himself, as we have seen, was the first to propose a change in the name of the club. The sons of those who were members of the club when it broke up were, I should say, almost all as ultramontane in their opinions as any Catholics in the world. A Cisalpine Club like the one which was founded in 1792 would not now be established. No Catholic could be a member of it. The present generation of English Catholics have certainly shown their readiness to accept the infallibility of the Pope as defined by the Vatican Council, and their willingness to obey all those regulations in matters of discipline which the Holy Father wishes to be universally followed.

It may interest the reader to know that the new club, formed on the ruins of the Cisalpine, was called the "Catholic Emancipation Club." It was joined by almost all the members of the old club. Charles Turvile continued to act as its treasurer and secretary until his untimely death in the year 1839, when his place was taken by George Eyston, his partner in the firm of Barrett, Turvile and Eyston, and who was so well and so honourably known amongst English Catholics. Eyston continued in the office of treasurer and secretary until the dissolution of the Emancipation Club in the year 1847.

W. J. AMHERST, S.J.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE CISALPINE CLUB.*

ELECTED.		ELECTED.	
Arundell, Hon. Everard,	April 11, 1809	Berington, John,	March 14, 1797
Arundell, Lord,	June 9, 1812	Bryan, George,	May 10, 1803
Amherst, William,	April 19, 1814	Blundell, Charles,	Feb. 7, 1804
Acton, Sir Richard,	May 9, 1820	Bodenham, Chas., jun.,	April, 11, 1809
Arundell, Henry,	June 14, 1825	Berkeley, Robert,	June, 9, 1812
Arundell, Hon. Henry		Blount, Michael, jun.,	April 27, 1813
Benedict,	June 13, 1826	Blake, Anthony,	May 18, 1813
Butler, Charles.*	April 12, 1792	Blount, Sir Edward,	May 13, 1817
Blount, Sir Walter.*	April 12, 1792	Berkely, Robert, jun.,	May 11, 1819
Blount, Edward.		Bernard, Henry,	April 20, 1819
Blundell, Henry.		Browne, Hon. William,	April 16, 1822
Bellasyse, Rev. Chas.,		Barnewall, Hon. Thos.,	April 8, 1823
D.D.		Bedingfield, Henry,	June 10, 1823

* The mark * after a name indicates an original member. Where the day of election is left vacant, it is not inserted in the Minute Book; but it was previous to June 9, 1795.

ELECTED.

Blount, William,	June 13, 1826
Burke, Sir John, Bart.,	May 15, 1827
Blount, Aston,	May 20, 1828
Clifford, Henry,*	April 12, 1792
Courtenay, George,*	April 12, 1792
Cruise, William,*	April 12, 1792
Cholmeley, Francis.	
Collins, John, D.D.	
Cox, Robert Kelby.	
Curzon, Henry.	
Canning, Francis,	Feb. 19, 1798
Canning, Francis, jun.,	Feb. 19, 1798
Conolly, Mr.,	April 2, 1800
Canning, Robert,	June 10, 1800
Clifford, Lewis,	June 8, 1802
Cary, George,	Feb. 8, 1803
Charlton, of Hesleside,	June 11, 1805
Cholmely, Francis, jun.,	May 12, 1807
Constable, Marmaduke	
Maxwell,	April 7, 1812
Clifton, John,	May 10, 1814
Cox, Samuel,	April 14, 1815
Cronin, Daniel,	April 11, 1826
Dormer, Hon. Charles,*	April 12, 1792
Devereux, J. E.	
Dormer, Lord,	June 9, 1795
Dayrell, jun.,	Mar. 11, 1806
Dillon, J. J.,	June 13, 1820
Dormer, Lord,	May 15, 1827
Englefield, Sir Hy. Chas.*	April 12, 1792
Errington, Henry,*	April 12, 1792
Eyre, Thomas,	April 27, 1813
Eyston, Charles,	May 18, 1813
Eustace, Rev. John	
Chetwode,	April 19, 1814
Eyston, George,	June 12, 1821
Errington, Michael, of	
County,	June 12, 1827
Fingall, Earl of.	
Fitzherbert, Basil.	
Fermor, William,	Feb. 7, 1804
Fauconberg, Viscount,	June 12, 1804
Fairfax, Charles Gregory,	June 13, 1815
Fitzherbert, Thomas,	May 12, 1818
Fraser, Thos. Alex.,	June 10, 1823
Gould, George,	Feb. 11, 1800
Gifford, John,	June 10, 1800
Gillibrand, Thomas,	Feb. 12, 1805
Goldie, Dr.,	May 18, 1813
Gage, John,	May 13, 1817
Gandolfi, Joseph,	May 14, 1822
Heneage, George,*	April 12, 1792
Hornvold, Thomas.	
Hawkins, Thomas.	
Howard, Bernard Edwd.	
Hornvold, Charles.	
Howard, Henry.	
Heneage, Thomas.	
Howard, Edw. C.	
Howard, Henry,	May 10, 1814

ELECTED.

Jerningham, Wm.	
Jones, Michael,	April 11, 1809
Jerningham, Edw.,	May 16, 1809
Jerningham, Sir George,	April 4, 1815
Jones, Philip.	April 16, 1822
Jerningham, Hon. Henry,	June 14, 1825
Jones, Michael,	April 24, 1827
Jerningham, Edmund,	June 10, 1828
Jerningham, Chas. Edwd.	April 20, 1830
Killeen, Lord,	June 9, 1812
Langdale, Thomas.	
Lloyd, Thomas,	March 9, 1802
Langdale, Marmaduke,	June 11, 1805
Langdale, James,	Jan. 10, 1807
McKenna,	June 11, 1805
More, Thomas Peter,	April 23, 1816
Maxwell, Marmaduke,	June 12, 1827
Nihell, L.,	
Nelson, Thomas, M.D.,	May 9, 1820
Petre, Lord,*	April 12, 1792
Petre, Hon. Robert,*	April 12, 1792
Parker, James.	
Petre, George.	
Plowden, W.	
Prujean, John,	June 12, 1798
Paston, Major,	June 9, 1812
Petre, Hon. Edw.,	May 18, 1813
Petre, George,	April 19, 1814
Petre, Lord,	May 12, 1818
Quinn, Michael Joseph,	April 15, 1828
Riddell, Ralph,	Feb. 7, 1804
Rookwood, Robt. Gage,	June 9, 1812
Rosson, John,	April 20, 1819
Riley, William,	April 8, 1823
Swinburne, Henry.	
Shrewsbury, Lord.	
Stapleton, Thomas.	
Smythe, Walter,	May 8, 1798
Scully, Mr.,	April 16, 1805
Southwell, Lord,	May 11, 1805
Stourton, Lord,	April 11, 1809
Stourton, Hon. Edward,	April 11, 1809
Strickland, Gerald,	May 12, 1812
Standish, Charles,	June 9, 1812
Slater, Rev. Edward,	April 4, 1815
Stourton, Hon. Philip,	April 23, 1816
Seale, Thos. Molyneux,	April 23, 1816
Strickland, George,	June 11, 1816
Stonor, Colonel,	May 13, 1817
Selby, Robert, jun.,	April 20, 1819
Stapleton, Charles,	June 8, 1819
Stonor, Thos., jun.,	May 8, 1821
Stonor, Charles,	June 12, 1821
Stapleton, Major Her-	
man,	May 11, 1824
Smythe, Sir Edwd., Bart.,	June 14, 1825
Southwell, Hon. Mr.,	June 13, 1823
Stapleton, Miles,	April 24, 1827
Stapleton, Thos., jun.,	June 12, 1827
Throckmorton, Sir John,*	April 12, 1792

ELECTED.

Towneley, John.	
Tempest, Stephen.	
Throckmorton, Wm.	
Talbot, John,	Mar. 12, 1799
Talbot, Francis Wm.,	May 14, 1811
Talbot, John, jun.,	May 12, 1812
Turville, Geo. Fortescue,	May 18, 1813
Turville, Charles,	June 8, 1813
Towneley, Peregrine,	May 19, 1815
Tucker, Thomas,	Mar. 31, 1818
Talbot, Lt.-Colonel,	June 9, 1818
Tempest, Charles,	June 8, 1819
Tichborne, Sir Henry,	May 9, 1820
Tempest, John,	May 9, 1820
Tichborne, Edwd.,	June 13, 1820
Talbot, James,	June 12, 1821
Talbot, George,	May 14, 1822
Tucker, James,	June 14, 1825
Throckmorton, Robert,	April 11, 1826
Tempest, Henry,	April 11, 1826
Towneley, Charles,	June 13, 1826

ELECTED.

Turville, Edward,	June 13, 1826
Tichborne, James,	April 24, 1827
Tichborne, Sir Hy., Bart.,	June 12, 1827
Tempest, Joseph,	June 10, 1828
Throckmorton, Nicholas,	June 9, 1829
Vaughan, John,	May 10, 1803
Wiiks, Rev. Joseph,*	April 12, 1792
Witham, Henry.	
Walmesley, Thos.,	March 9, 1802
Wheble, James,	June 12, 1804
Witham, Wm., jun.,	June 13, 1809
Weld, James,	June 9, 1812
Westor, Thos. Monington,	June 8, 1813
Wright, John, jun.,	April 4, 1815
Wright, Thomas, jun.,	June 13, 1815
Webb, Sir Thomas, Bt.,	May 14, 1816
Walmesley, Thos. Geo.,	June 8, 1819
Wright, John,	May 11, 1824
Webb, Sir Henry,	May 16, 1825
Witham, Michael H.,	April 15, 1828
Witham, Wm. Silvertop,	May 20, 1828

ART. V.—LABOUR AND CAPITAL, LIMITED.

1. *Groundwork of Economics.* By C. S. DEVAS. London. 1883.
2. *Political Economy.* By C. S. DEVAS. (Manuals of Catholic Philosophy, Stonyhurst Series.) London. 1892.
3. *SS. D. N. Leonis XIII. Litt. Encyc.*: “*De Conditione Opificum.*”

THE Princess Democratia is making great changes in the world. She has broken the power of kings, and now it is her good pleasure to deal in the like fashion with capitalists. Ground-rents and ground game; market dues and the dukes that own them; the unemployed at both ends of the social scale; the idle rich, as well as the idle poor; the electoral franchise, not as a commodity for sale, but as an instrument of purchase; banks and cunningly devised bankruptcies; rings, trusts, and monopolies of all kinds, including the time-honoured monopoly of land and its resources by a governing class which has refused to govern, except under compulsion or in view of its own interests—all these phenomena of a tangled and inadequate system are passing, as on a fated field-day, under the eyes of the Princess Democratia, who is the mightiest, although still the youngest, of the powers that be. Nor does any one question that if her imperious majesty should decree times and changes, even to the extinction of old fundamental forms and laws, she can do according as she will. Limits, indeed, may be assigned to her dominion by the philosopher and the theologian, but they are not the limits of institutions now existing on legal sufferance. Feudalism has been this long while a picturesque ruin. Monarchies, which once boasted of their right divine, have grown mild and constitutional. The bourgeois system, preconised by Turgot and Adam Smith, is shaking to pieces, while the ground heaves and swells under its ignoble Stock Exchange and its cheapest yet dearest market. Votes have been flung in fright or disdain to the millions of workers; and

they are beginning to reckon that votes should mean for them bread, light, shelter, and, in general, what is called civilisation. The right divine of kings has proved, under the strokes of logic and revolution, to be the right of society to govern itself. Rulers confess that they are but servants of "the people." And that which has happened to the power of the sword is happening to the power of the purse. Property, like kingship, must submit to be made constitutional instead of irresponsible and absolute. The divine right to which it appeals cannot involve human wrong. In the language of a noble French Catholic, property is "a social function," with duties traced out for it, and a prerogative inherent in legislation of seeing that they are fulfilled. Property, again I say, is no despotism tempered by the epigrams of the Fabian Society. Unless it answers to its social function constantly and faithfully, as a good ship answers to the helm, it will drift on stormy seas and break on the rocks of anarchy. The late Prince Consort observed once in a memorable sentence, that "Constitutional Government is on its trial." Facts of the most varied description warrant me in saying that "property is on its trial." Ought we to abolish private capital and set up in its stead public capital? That is the question of the day.

We may deal with it historically by considering how private capital has arisen, what benefits the world has derived from it, and what harm it has wrought. We may number its forms and pursue its vicissitudes, in European countries and in America; we may note the boundaries set to it in Russia, China, and India; compare with it the public land system of Bengal, the Mir of the Slavonians, and the tribal tenures of the Celts and other peoples unskilled in the Roman law, or contemptuous of its provisions. And thus we shall bring home to ourselves the great first truth that capital, as we behold it in action during the last hundred years, is not that sacred thing "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*," which its unqualified defenders imagine; and that the Roman law, invented by subtle Italian lawyers and enforced at the point of the sword, is just as divine as Russian "village Communism," and not a whit more so. To increase our light and throw a steady beam upon Capitalism in the shape of credit, we may turn to the usury laws of all nations, and in particular during the Middle Ages,

when the statesmen of the Christian Church had a hand in making them. It will be well to ask ourselves also what is the meaning and what the history of mortgages, and whether these are the last words of a progressive civilisation. But in doing so we can scarcely help glancing at the principles on which property has been acquired and is now held—all which will lead us into the boundless, though not necessarily on that account the pathless, fields of philosophic speculation.

At this point we had better look round for a guide. He should be well equipped for his task—an historian, an economist, and a moral philosopher; if possible, also a Christian. For I do not believe that the Princess Democratia cherishes the dislike of Christians which is so often imputed to that young enthusiast. She has her own quarrel with Mammon, and she resents in pointed language the alliance which he pretends to have struck up with the New and Old Testaments. But if a Christian economist were presented to her who declared openly that he meant to judge Mammon by the Sermon on the Mount, I am of opinion that he would find her willing to listen, provided always that he kept his word and was not insidiously endeavouring to digest covetousness into a pseudo-science on the one hand, and a pseudo-gospel on the other. Would she then hearken to Mr. Devas, the titles of whose two books I have printed at the head of this article? For a time I think she might, and much to her own benefit; whether in the end she ought to follow in his footsteps I will ask the reader to determine for himself.

As a guide over the wastes of political economy, Mr. Devas, whose other qualifications for his task I need not dwell upon in the columns of this REVIEW, comes forward with a safe conduct from that celebrated Order which in times past resisted the absolute power of kings—witness Suarez and Mariana—nor has any special reason to praise or defend the bourgeois system, from which it has suffered as much as from any monarch. Jew bankers, parliaments of capitalists, and the secular schools upheld by them have not shown an extravagant devotion to the Society of Jesus. Nor can the Holy See, to which the Society has ever been faithful, regard with complacency a state of widespread suffering and injustice, as depicted in severe and gloomy colours by the reigning Pope when he put forth his

great treatise on economics entitled, "De Conditione Opificum." Property in the abstract is one thing; capitalism in the concrete is quite another. Leo XIII. deprecates revolution; but he denounces unrighteousness. He affirms that it is labour which has created wealth; that the fruits of toil should go to the toiler; that morality must be the rule of the market, and not mere expediency; that under new names usury is flourishing still, and is still a crime against God and man; and that the modern system has thrown into the hands of a few the control of labour and of the world-commerce: "Ita ut opulenti et prædites perpauci, prope servile jugum infinitæ proletariorum multitudini imposuerint." It was with a view to healing this inhuman and indefensible slavery of the proletarians that Leo XIII. wrote; and with the same view it is that a rational God-fearing democracy will strive to act and legislate. So far the oldest and the youngest of European institutions are in accord.

And therefore a Christian economist, which is the account given of himself by Mr. Devas, may well take heart; for though he should urge great and vital changes in the common way of handling his science, and should even hint—a little more timidly perhaps—at the revision of our present laws touching land, labour, and capital, he cannot be charged with desiring these and the like alterations more ardently than the Holy Father and the Society of Jesus, which has, in a manner, singled *him* out to be its spokesman. He will never be recommending to us the principles of that Socialism which the Pope has defined and condemned; for not every change is revolution in a bad sense; and legislation that will harmonise the claims of private capital with those of the community at large, is alone likely to preserve us from the rash experiments of those who would do away with private capital altogether. The supreme and final power of law-making has now passed into the hands of the enfranchised multitude. Use it they will, wisely or unwisely. But to-day Philip is sober, and may listen to reason; who knows if to-morrow he will not be intoxicated with the sense of his own sovereignty? As the middle class disestablished and disendowed their feudal masters, by Acts of Parliament no less than by Great Rebellions and French Revolutions, so, we must assume as our starting-point, the Democracy is

going about to disestablish and disendow the middle class. And it will be remembered that, in our time, the middle class extends through the House of Lords to the steps of the throne. Our nobles rule, so far as they rule at all, by reason of their wealth, not of their birth. The House of Commons was, and largely is even now, the House of Capital. But it is in process of transformation; and in the County Councils we may watch, with feelings that vary according to the length of our purse and our balance at the bankers, that very business of disendowment beginning. To write a text-book on property at this hour, in which wide and formidable changes should not be regarded as impending and as in principle warranted, would be to hold an argument with the Atlantic in a gale. Mrs. Partington's economics have had their day. Democratic legislation is coming which will affect all kinds of owners and all kinds of workmen. The serfdom on which our Holy Father cannot bestow a blessing (but rather that which is the reverse of a blessing) will not endure, at all events in its present shape. And it is the duty of a Catholic economist to lay down axioms, to multiply instances, and to resolve problems, so that the legislation now to be devised may become the true expression of reason and righteousness.

In saying which, I suggest that economics is an ethical science; not vulpine cunning as the instrument of cupidity; nor the arithmetic of money-making divorced from principle; nor yet the struggle of individuals to overreach one another according to rule; and that, as its material foundation is the Democracy, seated in its own land, so its purpose, or final end, is the perfection of the social order in regard to wealth. Discuss the proper method whereby this end may best be attained, we must and ought: that method, however, by its very definition, remains always subordinate to the end, not hostile to it. Distributive justice requires us so to distribute that we may be just, and necessarily demands from us an acknowledgment of the rights of all those who have a place in the organism. If rights are not in question, then might must settle it; and, as I began by remarking, the Princess Democratia, who has now the majority of votes, will in due season have the laws at her disposal, and with them the army, the navy, and the courts of justice. On every ground, I fancy, the appeal had better

be to principles. In other words, economics, which Christians have always looked upon as a branch of morals, is now confessedly such, even though handled by tacticians of the old and orthodox school.

Orthodox ! It was a pretty word to conjure with. Heresies in all other departments of thought could be tolerated, only not where money-making was in question. Now the revolt from orthodoxy has wrought sad havoc among Smithians, Ricardians, and Millites themselves ; Fawcett has given way, even in competitive examinations, to Walker ; Henry George, though an irregular kind of physiocrat, has rooted up the foundations on which he was building his single tax ; and there never was such a chaos of contending beliefs in the mid-current of the sixteenth century among reformers, as in the nineteenth we behold, not without amusement, among economists. Mr. Devas, a student of systems at home and abroad, of French, German, and Italian as well as English, brings up his own squadron of assailants to ruin the edifice. Two stately columns it had—the great moral doctrine of Malthus, “Increase not, nor multiply,” on the right hand ; the equally great philosophical doctrine of Smith, “There is a fixed wages fund, and the more labourers the less wages for each of them,” on the left. With not nearly so much striving as Samson, Mr. Devas lays a hand on this pillar and on that ; and the temple of the Philistines tumbles. It is a fair piece of work as demolition ; clear, for all the dust of argument, and one would wish it might have been done for the last time. But man, though a rational animal *in potentia*, to speak with our scholastics, is very seldom such *in actu*. Malthus will require daily to be slain, like the warriors of Odin in Valhalla. Thanks, however to a benignant Providence, which has almost made an end of the wages fund, it is now reckoned an absurdity to talk of capitalists as “supporting” the “hands” that feed and clothe them ; nor must even our dissent from Mr. Henry George’s final conclusion lead us to deny the notable service done by him in putting this phantom to flight. I say Mr. Henry George, being mindful of his widespread influence wherever the English language is spoken ; but of course I am aware that Lassalle, and after him Karl Marx, set forth the arguments against a wages fund as they are now admitted on all sides.

Capital is due to labour of brain and muscle, and not to the capitalist as such. This theme Mr. Devas, with learning and cogency, explains in his "Groundwork of Economics," and enforces in the more recent text-book. His capitalist may, or he may not, labour as workman, manufacturer, superintendent, or as all three, but the return of capital, which our author calls "rent" (and an admirable name for it) is not due to him in any of these capacities; it is simply and solely the acknowledgment of a claim. He may "own" thousands of acres in Scotland, or a river in Norway, or but a poor ten pounds' worth of railway stock; nay, perhaps he "owns" nothing at all, and has only a first mortgage for some half-million on the estates of a spendthrift marquis. All this matters not as regards the principle of Capitalism, which is, that irrespective of any labour of his, mental or bodily, past, present, or to come (beyond that mere "apprehension" which is so like Luther's justifying faith without works), he has a right to receive the sum or sums for which he has stipulated, a legal claim to be recognised in hard cash or money down. And that money he may spend as he pleases.

"But hold," some one will object, to whom this account of the capitalist in his own right may appear not only false but grotesque, "surely a man has it in his power to serve society by other than industrial production. Do we not see poets and painters, teachers and preachers, generals, ambassadors, prime ministers, and a thousand more, who with head and hand, though not with shovel or measuring tape, carry on the business of their country, and thus are well entitled to a stipend which shall reward them and hold out an inducement to those who must succeed them one day?" Certainly; but Mr. Devas informs me that such stipends are wages, not rent. In any system wages, or the return of labour, call it by what name you will, must survive. "Rent" is an utterly different thing; it does not reward labour, it acknowledges a claim, or, so to speak, honours a cheque drawn upon the resources which labour has accumulated. How the lucky man came by his cheque, the cashier is not permitted to inquire, so long as the police are satisfied. A capitalist, then, or *rentier*—it is a pity we cannot acclimatise this useful word—is one who does nothing, but receives something, to wit, his legal due, from labour past and present,

which, on the supposition, is not his own labour, but that of his debtors. And for it he is bound to make no return of any kind save his own existence. Multiply him by birth or adoption—I would even say by force or fraud—and you have what is known as the “leisured class,” the “golden aristocracy,” the “idle rich,” or, in the flattering language of the census-paper, “gentlemen of independent means.” O fortunati nimium ! One looks through the gilded palisades where they eat the fruits of their abundant idleness, and one envies them at times ; but on the whole they give rise to meditations of pity rather than envy, for if the art of production is base and mechanical, that of consumption is a very fine art indeed, left imperfect, I think, by Epicurus, and demanding infinite worlds to satisfy it wholly.

Two things, however, strike me. One is the exceeding clearness with which our author proves that the “rich”—and we shall here take the *rentier* as being “rich” in the proper meaning of the term—are literally created by the “surplus labour” of those who work for them ; and the second, how very difficult it is to reconcile their existence with the “social functions” of property on which Mr. Devas dwells with emphasis. If we fall back on the idea that they are all “ministering spirits,” which is implied in describing their wealth as the “reward of superintendence,” it is manifest that when they cease to minister the stipend of their ministry should cease at the same time. Or if it be alleged that they have “realised” their past labour in these legal claims—first, that was not the supposition ; and, again, we must inquire by what reasoning any past labour of theirs can be entitled to a perpetual pension on the bank of society ? And Mr. Devas laughs to scorn, in some very witty pages, the notion of their riches being the “reward of abstinence,” any more than of exertion. Adam Smith believed that every “frugal man” was *eo ipso* a fortune to his kind ; yet Mandeville, holding that “private vices are public benefits,” had given large currency to the idea that an alderman eating his turtle soup, and a pickpocket stealing the alderman’s watch while he did so, illustrated in the most beautiful manner the providential ordering of consumption and distribution. Mr. Devas will allow neither the prodigal nor the skinflint to apologise for

the classes which they severally adorn. Not even his "luxury" shall save the capitalist from being a charge upon the capital which he did not create, does not increase, and has never by his own mere enjoyment distributed. Is "the secret of private enrichment," then, "the appropriation of unpaid labour"? I cannot find this stated in so many words by Mr. Devas. But if he does not intend to "take us into the wilderness and leave us there," I conclude from all his reasoning that he looks upon the "rich" as paying for some men's labour—in what proportion they pay at all—with the labour of some other men, but never with their own; which is, from any point of view, a very remarkable conclusion indeed. I wonder how it will be received in the parliament of labouring men, whether industrial or ministerial, when they have once put themselves into legislative order?

The courteous reader will observe that I am here giving him, though in my own words, not my opinions, but a sketch of Mr. Devas's line of reasoning on "Enrichment and Impoverishment," in his "Groundwork," and of his "Apology for the Rich," in the Stonyhurst manual. "Orthodox" economists did their utmost to show that we cannot dispense with the rich because they labour; or because, at any rate, they save; or because, even if they do not save, they distribute. Mr. Devas replies that they do none of these things, *qua* rich; they merely enjoy and consume. Nor could they consume so much by a long way did not society furnish them with—I was going to write slaves, but let us call them—servants, who shall see that their luxuries are well taken care of.

Bid a duke live at home with his family [observes our pleasant logician], and forbid them the use of any kind of servant, and see how they lapse into the position of poor people, though their income be £50,000 a year. They must live in a cottage, for they cannot keep even a middle-class house clean, much less a palace. They must be chary of washing when every drop of water has to be pumped up by the duke, and carried into the house by the heir; and the meals will be simple, to save the labour of the duchess and her daughters.

All this, the writer calmly goes on to say, is obvious; but lest some incautious disputant should rejoin that, with an income of £50,000 a year, you can always hire cooks or housemaids, he points out a truth which is by no means

so obvious, and which yet on consideration must be granted him—viz., that for one “rich family” to subsist on its “capital,” a number of poor ones must so “utilise the means of production,” as to “get enough to support themselves and have a surplus over that may help to form the revenue of the rich family.” And thus “many hundreds of rich people” may draw their revenue from property worked by many tens of thousands of poor people, without our being able to point out any one in particular of the poor who works more for any one of the rich than for any other. Applying these statements to the definition of the “capitalist” given above, we possess a doctrine of the “unearned increment” which would have deeply interested John Stuart Mill. For the essential and never-to-be-forgotten point is that this immense “capital,” with its assured “revenue,” is earned by one set of people, and disposed of by another. So much the definition assumes; and in fact, if we may rely upon statistics, although some men “produce” as well as “own” property, the number of those who cannot honestly say that they produce anything whatever, or that by head or hand they contribute to the wealth of England, runs up into the millions. A tender Government allows them to qualify among the toilers on the easiest of terms; but not even so does the multitude of the idle rich shrink within reasonable compass.

We have all been studying the encyclical “*Novarum Rerum*.” And he would be more disingenuous than I have any desire to be, who should not recognise in the Holy Father’s language a vehement condemnation of theories which describe “private property,” or even “private capital,” as not according to the moral and the Christian law. But it should be noted just as clearly that the Pope’s reasoning establishes this legal claim on the man’s own labour and abstinence, or on the services (industrial or ministerial) which the owner of property has rendered to his fellow-men. The idea that “unpaid labour,” that the “surplus” of a man’s toil, may be rightly appropriated by prince or Government, by duke, banker, or tax-gatherer, without a fair equivalent, is not to be found in his pages from beginning to end. On the contrary, he exclaims with great force, “*Id quemquam potiri, illoque perfrui, in quo alius desudavit, utrumne justitia patiatur?*” And he lays down as a self-evident truth, “*Quo modo effectæ res causam sequuntur a*

qua effectæ sunt, sic operæ fructum ad eos ipsos qui operam dederint, rectum est pertinere." So that you have no more right, though a capitalist, to steal the surplus of a poor man's labour, than you have to appropriate to yourself what you take to be the surplus of the same poor man's goods. Of those goods his labour, indeed, is the first and greatest.

These reflections, however, it will be said, suppose private property already in existence. "The fruits to the toiler" may be a sound principle, if he has been toiling upon his own; but if upon what belongs to another, the case is not so simple. I never dreamt that it was, nor am I assailing private property. My contention at present is only this, that Leo XIII defines it to be an injustice when one man appropriates, without an equal return, the labour of another, be it in the shape of profit, or of tax, or of usury. And if so much be allowed, we must eliminate from our Commonwealth all those who give nothing to it except their idle lives and luxurious examples. A "leisured class" of drones and parasites ought never to be counted among the social hierarchy. Can no function be assigned to them? Then they should cease to exist. Or is there a service which they can render? Then let their remuneration be fixed according to its dignity and importance.

But I have seldom read more melancholy words, if we only weigh their meaning, than those in which Mr. Devas explains how the number of rich people in England so largely outruns the number of poor in the same country who can possibly support them. "The means of production they control," he says, "and the servant-workmen who turn these to account" are "many of them in some other country," as "in Ireland, Egypt, the West Indies, and, above all, in British India. And thus habitually"—so he concludes—

the money price of imports into England exceeds that of the exports by many tens of millions; while the excess in the number of the rich and middle classes in England is in proportion to the deficiency of those classes in those other countries, compared with the immense number of their poor.

So England is the great absentee landlord who, having got by hook or by crook a legal claim on the labour of three hundred millions of wretchedly poor and feeble serfs, proceeds to manufacture out of the same his villadom with its well-

kept gardens, his watering-places on the South Coast and the Riviera, and those grim paradises of delight which men call London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, and Glasgow, and which the gods have lost sight of in their everlasting smoke. But such is Capitalism—in the grand style, Matthew Arnold would say. Is it not evident that our economics (to make no mention of our ethics) have been reducing themselves to iniquity as well as absurdity this long while? And to crown the disaster, all Europe is following the example we have set them. Great fortunes are built on the ruins of honest competence—on a surplus, Mr. Devas!—and great cities on the misery of thousands upon thousands who have been crammed down alive upon one another, to increase the value of tenements, leases, and sub-leases, and most honourable ground-rents. When I consider these things I cannot forbear asking myself who is to determine what surplus shall go, from the hands that made it, to the coffer that shuts tight upon it? And where, in God's name, does it begin? There may be a kind of rich and poor admissible in the system of justice and reason, supposing that by unequal division of goods economic the great ends of society are furthered. But the "few rich" who require for their mere existence an "immense number" of such poor as modern cities breed, and of the hopeless bankrupt populations which abound in all lands where European commerce has thriven, are surely an eloquent refutation of those who cannot fancy there was ever private property not identical with "Capitalism," or who suppose that Leo XIII. has uttered one syllable in defence of this infamous and all-devouring usury.

Nor have the "idle rich" been content to remain idle. By a simple method of turning the screw they have raised rents, withheld resources, and increased the tariffs on industry to such a degree, that whenever our benevolent author comes to suggest remedies for the prevailing distress he must petition that "food and clothing, housing and furniture, at least such as a humane slave-owner would provide for his slaves," be secured to our "free" working men and women. "The advance from rude to civilised conditions," as he feels, may—and facts prove that it will—"mean no advance in culture for the multitude, but retrogression; the vast development of intellectual

and political life being concentrated among the few, while the many become brutalised," unless measures are taken to prevent it. Who can doubt the retrogression—physical, moral, and religious—in the vast urban populations of cities boasting their millions; world-capitals like Vienna, Berlin, Paris, New York, and the endless stacks of houses nearer home? The apostasy of the towns from Christian life and conduct is due, in the main, to economic injustice showing itself in the "Wohnungsnoth," which almost drives Mr. Devas to despair, and in the picture of existence to which that is the frame and canvas. There is not even, as Lassalle imagined, a "normal wage" below the level of which capitalists may not descend; their wages fund has proved to be exceedingly compressible, and "cheap and abundant labour" is capable of driving down recompense to a point where the labourers drop into their graves, and others no less needy spring to take the place they have quitted. Or, in the mathematical but precise language of Jevons, "the value of a commodity is a function of the quantity available," and it will fall to zero when the supply—for instance, of human "servant-workmen"—becomes, in comparison with the demand, unlimited. The classic illustrations of misery, famine, and the inverse ratio of idle rich and starving poor, have long been taken from Ireland; so that I need only refer to McCulloch's eloquent dissertation on the zero-value of its millions in the years preceding 1847, to show that even orthodoxy has recognised its own, though it did not rejoice in them.

And now what is the way out of this labyrinth? Or is there none? To the eye of reason, contemplating society as a whole, it would appear that even a ministering class of capitalists, granting it to be indispensable, should receive from the common stock only a fair wage, and not the enormous wealth they mismanage with the consequences we have seen. For what can be more unreasonable than that the maintenance of a single order in luxury should deprive the workers of their happiness, their morals, and their religion? But when Mr. Devas was writing his first book he put forward, as a gospel for the poor, one of the most striking applications known to me of the good old High Church doctrine which Catholics are wont to ridicule under the name of "passive obedience." To

the workers he observed that Providence had bidden them earn their bread in the sweat of their brow; that they had no alternative but to go on working, and were not in the least permitted to claim the produce of their labour, but only "a minimum of sustenance, of rest, and of recreation." For the labourer, in this philosophy, "has no right to more of it"—that is to say, of the produce which his hand and brain have realised—"than *this* quantity, nor yet any right to refuse to produce more than this quantity." I should like to put to the conscientious author Pope Leo's question once more, "*Id quemquam potiri, illoque perfrui, in quo alius desudavit, utrumne justitia patiatur?*" Because a man is bound to earn his own bread, is he therefore bound to earn bread for some one else? And does the command to labour affect only the labouring class? Why, again, must any one, high or low, continue working to produce a "surplus" which is not to come to himself? Yet, again remarks Mr. Devas, the surplus may bring him "help and protection," or "only "scorn and neglect," but

all this is not his concern; it is not for him to discuss the mysterious dispositions and permissions of divine Providence; and if those who hold power in the society in which he lives misuse what may be said to be his contribution to the life of that society, it is not for him to murmur or to punish. There is One who sees, and who in His own time will bring all to account.

Is it not curious to hear, on the lips of a Catholic, those very accents which we remember in Archbishop Laud, James I., and Henry VIII., touching the duties of subjects, the rights unlimited of their pastors and masters, the adjournment of human causes to the last day, and Providence invoked as the direct and immediate author of certain men's dealings with their fellows? How these gentlemen came by their "surplus" we are not to ask, for it is covered by "prescription." And how they employ it, whether to starve or feed us, remains between them and the Almighty; our daily task, our common round, is to go on producing the same. Happily this appeal to Providence, which certainly Providence never suggested, met with the favour it deserved two hundred and fifty years ago, while, since then, passive obedience has been developed into the elective franchise, and the workers who "may be said" to contribute to the life of the society

which in a single twelve months would fall to mere rubbish without them, are now called upon to legislate through their representatives, and must, in consequence, not perhaps "murmur," but assuredly search into and, where need is, "punish" the infractions of social justice. To speak quite within bounds, the existence of an irresponsible wealthy class in England, or anywhere else, is no more providential than those famines which, according to Mr. Devas, have been produced by false political economy and *laissez-faire*. A social organism which could not "murmur and punish," when its most powerful members were eating up the lives of the great majority, would be in a rapid way to extinction. The principle laid down by Aristotle and St. Thomas, and repeated in the Pope's Letter, "*unam civitatis esse rationem, communem summorum atque infimorum*," if duly pondered, will lead us to understand that there is no class whatever which may appeal from its responsibility to a Providence whose intervention in this world it is careful to preclude. Society is bound to consult, not merely its own preservation, but the well-being of all its members. And they, in turn, are bound by justice, affection, and patriotism to render it reasonable service according to their various powers. Hence the ideal of a commonwealth is that where each one receives in proportion to his needs, not imagined, but ascertained, and where he gives in proportion to his faculties, sharing in the good of all, and in turn bestowing good on them.

Nor would Mr. Devas call these doctrines in question as I think; for in his Stonyhurst volume he pictures the higher classes of society as cultivating art, science, literature, government, and the beauties and charities of religion, with a view to the general welfare. And this indeed will be their sole justification as a permanent order which, if it be wanting, the condition of all, says Leo XIII., might be equal, but would be "*æque misera et ignobilis*." Any member of the body politic which declines to fulfil its duty, and consumes without producing or distributing, must speedily become a parasite, and then, if it is not cut away, the whole body will suffer. Hence it is the very business of government, whether by law or custom, to provide against such misuse. And in modern countries, when law and custom are without effect, revolution

is at the doors. Thus, to return to our author, greatly as he insists in one book on the virtue of passive obedience, in the next he draws out nine principles of reformation to which society must attend. In the "Groundwork" he had exalted *laissez-faire* to sublime heights, as far as the interposition of the working class to remedy abuses was concerned. But in the "Political Economy" strenuous efforts are recommended so to enlarge "official relations," to restrain "mobile," and to legislate for "corporative," as once more to build up a hierarchy of industries and ministries that shall meet with the Christian's approval. And a great many of these things are to be done (while all may be supervised) by that very government which, given the popular franchise, is nothing else than the working class legislating with supreme authority and seeing that its will is carried out. "The worst form of government imaginable," some one will tell me. But is it an unjust form of government? That is the question. At any rate Mr. Devas holds that "free competition," "monopoly prices," an "unrestricted labour market," and every other kind of *laissez-faire*, must be limited by the general good of the community which it is the office of legislation to protect and promote. Before the rich can appropriate their "surplus" he contends that they are in duty bound to allow those who produce it a minimum subsistence-wage; but in defining the minimum he strives to be just and even generous. The "humane slave-owner" will accordingly submit to Factory and Education Acts; he will be compelled by law to provide subsistence for his workmen and workwomen all the year round; he will see that they have decent homes to live in, and will so remunerate them that Christian marriage at a fitting age may be possible to them; and for all this he will be legally responsible ere he touches the gain they bring him. On the other side he will give them a share in his own culture and refinement, while the laws of the country will allow them some direct concern in the management of their parish, town, and electoral district. Moreover, to alleviate accidental misfortunes and calamities not provided against in the Code, there will be abundant alms-giving from the surplus which the well-to-do have laid up.

Thus, it appears, we none of us can escape the temptation

of sketching a Utopia, and Mr. Devas as little as Mr. Bellamy or Sir Thomas More. But the instruction I would draw for myself from these earnest, no less than amusing, pages may be summed up in a brace of questions. Are you prepared to follow your principle of the social organisation of industry as far as it will carry you? And how do you propose to effect these changes? As regards my first inquiry, the doctrine of private capital, so I gather, is to be interpreted and applied on the axiom of the public good, and "irresponsible" private property can no longer be admitted. Why? Surely because labour and capital are both "social functions"; not in an exclusive sense, as though individuals wrought only for the State and not for themselves, but in a reciprocal sense, implying that by the distinction of industries and ministries, of mental and manual offices, the greatest *economic* good is produced, and the highest *human* good made possible to every one, according as he can receive it. On some such principle, express it how we may, the various expedients—whether of law, as in "prescription," or of economics, as in a just and properly limited "rent," for a certain class of ministers—are capable of defence, taking into account the stage of society to which they correspond. All the paper-constitutions in the world will not enfranchise a people who have neither the wit nor the strength to be free; and, in like manner, the rights of public property, or the "unearned increment," will be left in the hands of capitalists so long as the public itself does not know how to safeguard them. That is, at present, the true function of the rich who do not minister by their personal toil to the Commonwealth, but "only stand and wait."

They are, of course, immensely overpaid, to the loss of those from whom they take the good of living. And, in the same proportion, the real "superintendents" are immensely underpaid. I am myself disposed to pity the proletarians in black coats as much as I pity the proletarians in frieze and fustian. Both classes alike are products of a tyrannous past. Mr. Devas reminds me, indeed, that the past cannot be healed. How is it, then, with the future? Is there no principle at work which is striving to shape things in a juster mould? Look at this series of historical words—"slavery, serfdom, guilds, and trade-unions;" and at these—"co-operation, profit-

sharing, rings and trusts, fixed prices, and boards of arbitration"—what will the next words be in this development? On both sides we are passing through competition to combination. Capitalism has thrown out sleeping-partners who eat their dividends, and waking-partners who pile up their own profits. The working classes have begun to see that only by association can they arrive at freedom. And while the anarchy of doctrine is unbounded, over the chaos broods that reconciling idea to which Leo XIII. has once more given form and voice, that labour and capital concur to a social end which determines their respective rights as well as their duties. We were told long ago by the *Times* that "the end of all commerce is individual gain." We now see that it is "the glory of God and the relief of man's estate."

But from this it follows that the "receivers," and not the "producers," are called upon, under present circumstances, to make concessions. Already they have surrendered no small part of their political dominion. Innumerable Acts of Parliament have cut down their "freedom of contract," limited the supply of "cheap and abundant labour," and put a stop to the indefinite accumulation of private capital. Thus I perceive some kind of answer to my second inquiry. Great changes in favour of the working multitude may come to pass under the influence of revolution, or religion, or legislation. At present the Democracy has more faith in law than in barricades; but of religion it knows, for the most part, only by hearsay. In our Stonyhurst manual, as was fitting, religion is given the first place; and we may hope that by showing it has had no hand in building up the capitalist system we shall secure it the first place in the new public order, as the thoughts of men are widened and they turn to rational account the resources left them by their ancestors. Legislation, however, must be the direct method whereby industries and ministries are adjusted to their social functions, and the parasitical rich made to contribute their share in the Commonweal. Not that law will lead us into the Promised Land or discover the Garden of Eden. Neither can the "providence of the State" make up for the providence of the family, or suppress individual genius and talent, imprisoning men in phalansteries and asylums for the imbecile. These are reminiscences from a youthful time which

painted the sky without heeding the weather. Just because we are more hopeful we can afford to be more modest: and George Eliot's excellent word "*Meliorism*" should be good enough for us.

To establish "free contract" in Ireland it was necessary that the public authorities should hold the balance even in a Land Court. So will it be, more and more, on this side of St. George's Channel. With Mr. Devas I prefer custom to law, and religion to legislation, provided the religion be humane and the custom fair. But where "the private bonds that link men together are weakest," as he truly observes, we shall always be likely to find the "one bond of social union" in the State. I do not believe, indeed, that there is no refutation of levelling Socialism except in the appeal to an inscrutable Providence and revealed truth. Any Socialism which denies the great variety of human talents, or which would blow away history with the breath of its nostrils, is as irrational as it is Utopian. The doctrine of private property, limited by that social organism which now alone makes it possible, and has therefore a right to regulate its acquisition and its use, can well defend itself, whenever the "*dura et odiosa servitus civium*," which Leo XIII. cries out against, is threatening us either in its proletarian or its capitalist form. I know that when we have done our utmost we shall still have no abiding city, or Paradise of Positivists, beneath the sky. But just laws, suited at once to the complexity as well as the simplicity of modern relations, can, I believe, attain to this, that in countries calling themselves Christian mankind shall no longer be divided into slaves on one side and slave-masters on the other, with little else than a criminal code to hinder them from lapsing into barbarism. Property will always be sacred when it observes the moral law. When it does not it ceases to be human; and in that measure the divine sanction is sure to be withdrawn from it.

WILLIAM BARRY.

ART. VI.—A PASSAGE IN THE HISTORY OF CHARLES I.

Hardwicke State Papers ; “ MSS. in Record Office.”

VERY little has been said or written about the foreign policy of Charles I. As a rule, it is hardly supposed that he had one at all. It is thought that a king whose country was heaving with the elements of rebellion, a king who numbered among his subjects a Cromwell, a Pym, and a Hampden, and who was engaged in constant disputes with his Commons, would be too entirely occupied in governing his own territory, to desire the further burden of the territory of others. Yet that Charles at one time actually indulged a light-headed and unlawful desire for annexation, and that not among far-off isles or the hunting-grounds of the red man, but just on the other side of the narrow sea, is as certain as that he afterwards quarrelled with his Parliament and lost his head in consequence. The fact has for some time been known to a few students of history, though it has never been elucidated fully or correctly.

It is always with regret that one writes anything derogatory to Charles I. His tragic fate royally borne, the virtuous private life, which contrasts so refreshingly with that of his father and son, his refined tastes, not to say the dignity and beauty of his portraits by Van Dyck and Rubens (for we are human), render him in some sort an ornament to kingship. But he was lacking in two qualities which bind the other virtues together and complete the character of the perfect man, cavalier, and king—sincerity and stability. Not one of his race had both of these ; few had either of them. Hallam, in his “ Constitutional History of England,” threw a side-light on the foreign policy of Charles, if anything so *décousu* can be called a policy at all. After touching on a secret alliance against the States of Holland and Zeeland which Charles concluded with Philip IV. of Spain, in 1631, through Sir Francis (afterwards Lord) Cottington, his Ambassador at Madrid, and by which treaty he was to have had Zeeland for his own when

the two kings should jointly have conquered it, Hallam goes on to refer to the intrigue entered on by Charles during the very next year with Philip's subjects against Philip. So far Hallam is correct; but, brief as is his notice of an episode which only bears collaterally on his own subject, he has contrived to couple it with an inaccuracy of detail which has caused some foreign writers to question the truth of the whole passage. M. Théodore Juste, who wrote a very able monograph on the conspiracy of the Belgian *noblesse* against Spain in 1632, remained hopelessly perplexed as to the part clandestinely taken by Charles I. in the intrigues of the discontented Provinces. He found indications of the interference of Charles, but no authoritative confirmation of the fact. After mentioning the accusation levelled against the Princes d'Espinoy, de Brabant, and de Bournonville, of having treated in disguise with the English Minister at Brussels, M. Juste remarks that such a denunciation

Would seem to prove that English diplomacy was no stranger to the plots of the Belgian *noblesse*; nevertheless, it is impossible now to affirm whether or not an English party really existed, and we can only conjecture what was the amount of interference and what the actual object of Charles and his Government.

M. Juste had evidently not read the extracts from the correspondence of Charles I. and his ambassador Gerbier, which Lord Hardwicke published in 1778; still less the MS. letters in the State Paper Office, a study of which reveals much more than can be gathered from the extracts alone. It was on these last only that Hallam based all that is true in his statement, but he added thereto another assertion which I shall notice in its place, and the groundlessness of which discredited his whole story in the eyes of MM. Juste, Gachet, and others.

In the year 1632 Belgium was under the government of the just and prudent Archduchess Isabel, daughter of Philip II. This princess inherited from her father his tireless industry, without the narrowness of mind which spoiled so much of Philip's work. Foreign ambassadors, whether Papal Nuncios, or French or English envoys—nay, even her hereditary enemies, the house of Nassau themselves—agreed together in lauding the virtues of “la bonne Infante.” She was now sixty-six years of age, and notwithstanding her merits had fallen on those evil

days which seemed to be the lot of all who governed the Netherlands, for some time she had waged the old traditional war against Holland successfully and even gloriously. Her bold and trenchant military ideas, could they have been carried out, might have cut short that long and desultory struggle. But, unfortunately, she had not control of the sinews of war themselves. The now inert Spanish monarchy was vested in the solemn stupid Philip IV., a king incapable of acting boldly or striking a decisive blow. Ruled by ministers hardly more intelligent than himself, he thwarted and suspected his aunt at Brussels, and sent incompetent nobles to command the armies which the great Spinola had formerly led to victory. The consequence was that town after town, territory after territory, fell into the hands of the Dutch under Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange; and the entire conquest of the Belgian Provinces appeared for a time inevitable.

Then a confused tangle of malcontent parties arose in Belgium, all clamorous for some way of escaping from the rule of Spanish ministers on the one hand and from subjugation by Holland on the other.

In the era of loyalty under the Archdukes, the Belgians, excepting only the Walloons, fought but seldom; the names of the slain officers on the dunes of Nieuport and in the trenches of Ostend were mostly those of noble Spanish and Italian houses. The "obedient" Provinces were also too miserably divided in political opinion for a combined effort. Their only hope, therefore, lay in the help of surrounding nations. One powerful party sprang up in 1632 which looked for independence through the help of France in alliance with Holland herself. Their idea was that to grasp their Dutch nettle would be to deaden its sting; they would make Holland help them to become "Free States," bringing France into the contract to prevent the United Provinces from taking a mean advantage of the situation. Other nobles, however, mindful of what Flanders had suffered at the hands of the Duke of Anjou after his aid was solicited in 1578, preferred to make England their guiding star.

Now, ever since the Archdukes concluded a peace with James I. in 1605, Isabel had been on the most amicable terms with the English Court. With Anne of Denmark,

mother of Charles I., she had maintained a correspondence so sympathetic that although the two ladies had never seen each other, they used the terms of tender friendship. James himself always had the highest opinion of the Infanta's abilities and good faith, and after the conquest of the Palatinate, its capital town, Frankenthal, was "sequestered," or placed in trust in her hands at his request. She was one of the most ardent promoters of the proposed match between Charles and her niece, the Infanta Maria, looking on it as at once a source of strength to the Spanish Empire and as the surest means of relieving the English Catholics from the penal laws. The brief war between England and Spain, which followed the rupture of the marriage treaty, broke off for a time these friendly relations between the Courts of London and of Brussels, though Isabel had failed in no pacific endeavour, and Charles, now King of England, never mentioned her except in terms of affection and respect. On the renewal of peace he appointed Sir Balthazar Gerbier as his representative at Brussels. A creature of the Duke of Buckingham, whose Master of the Horse he had been; an accomplished linguist, an enthusiastic *virtuoso*, a clever shallow writer of amusing letters, every line of which betrays his cleverness and his shallowness, a born intriguer; Gerbier was the very man to enter into a conspiracy with gusto and with tact.

Belgian discontent with Spain was at its height in the summer of 1632. Orange had conquered a great part of Gueldres, which its Governor de Berg conveniently left at his mercy; he was laying siege to Maestricht, which the Spanish generals seemed incapable of relieving; the conquests of Alexander Farnese and of Spinola were being lost one by one through the incompetence of those who had succeeded to their bâtons. Several Flemish nobles had withdrawn to France or to Liège in open rebellion; seditious broadsides were scattered hither and thither in Brussels; a flag bearing the vacuous portrait of Philip IV. had been dragged down from the Hotel de Ville and torn in pieces, and, according to Gerbier's letters, only the love and reverence which the people bore to the Archduchess, and the vigorous measures which she took, prevented a general insurrection. It were hard to say whether the order

of the clergy, of the nobles, or of the people, hated Spain most bitterly.

During these summer nights, scenes of dramatic mystery were taking place at the house of Sir Balthazar Gerbier. A personage in masque and hood presented himself at the door, after tracing a cross on the first window of the ground floor; he was at once admitted, and often spent great part of the night in converse with the English Ambassador. The object of this tragi-comedian, of whose identity Gerbier himself was for some time kept in ignorance, was to secure the assistance of Great Britain in an attempt to throw off the Spanish yoke. He said that he represented a large party of nobles, who were agreed in desiring the alliance of England as a counterbalance to the influence of France. No news could have been more agreeable to Gerbier; but he was very wary at first, fearing a trap; nor could he repress a feeling of contempt for the said Belgian nobles, who even at this first opening of their business, began to demand titles and ribbons of the English king. The masqued man told him, he says, that "they were in no small emulation for points of honour, expecting no less from His Majesty than as the King of Spain had honoured them with the Golden Fleece."

The mysterious Belgian gentleman invited Sir Balthazar to meet him and other masqued friends at a certain country house, and communicate to them the views of Charles, so soon as he should receive the *mot d'ordre* from St. James's. He also requested him to bring an authorisation from the king, couched in the following words:—"We authorise the bearer of the present to give such assurances to our beloved friends and neighbours, the States of the Netherlands, as are necessary for their safety and preservation."

Gerbier was extremely circumspect in his reply, not wishing to give Philip and the Archduchess cause to complain that he was caballing with their subjects. But he wrote off in high glee to learn the sentiments of Charles.

Nothing, it must be admitted, could be more unsentimental. The king jumped at the bait, none the less eagerly because the jump was not a very straight one, being rendered somewhat undecided by Stuart vacillation. He wanted to take advantage of the situation without appearing to be mean or covetous, to

annex the possessions of the King and Archduchess while yet remaining in amity with those princes. His letter to Gerbier, which must have perplexed even that roundabout diplomatist, is a curious specimen of insincere intentions and confused ideas.

The King began by saying that it hurt his honour and conscience to give the King of Spain just cause of quarrel against him ;

And a juster he cannot have, than deboshing of his subjects from their allegiance.

But since I see a likelihood, almost a necessitie [Charles continued], that his Flanders subjects must fall into some other King's or State's protection, and that I am offered without the least intimation of mine, to have a share therein, the second consideration is, that it were a great imprudence in mee to let slip this occasion, whereby I may both advantage myself and hinder the overflowing greatness of my neighbours.

Charles, indeed, came to the conclusion that Philip ought to thank him for taking over his provinces, rather than let them fall into the hands of either his enemies or his rebels. The powers asked for by Gerbier were, therefore, conceded, and he was further authorised to treat with the disguised persons, and promise them in his master's name, rather ambiguously it must be owned, "protection against aniebodie but the King of Spain, and to defend them from him and all the world as from inimies." Exact secrecy must be observed on both sides.

Treasurer Coke also suggested to Gerbier a few baits to be held out to the different orders in Flanders, to draw them towards an English, rather than a Dutch, alliance. The English King would advance the nobles, who, on the contrary, would be subject to affronts among those "*bowers* (boers) where all are equal." Then, the Dutch Calvinist clergy depended on voluntary contributions, and when Flanders should be under Dutch rule the Catholic priesthood might be reduced to the like estate. This solicitude for the Catholic clergy seems slightly out of place in Charles, in whose reign so many English priests were executed or imprisoned for no other offence than their orders. On the other hand, Coke added very truly that "the Dutch would have been able to do nothing against Spain without the help of England's martial

people," and altogether he drew a very flattering picture of the prosperity which would flow among all orders of the Belgian nation from the beneficent hands of Charles.

Gerbier now saw his way more clearly. Armed with his authorisation, he sought the chateau indicated as the trysting-place of the conspirators, where he was met by five disguised men. Their first step was a very politic one. They began by showing to the English Ambassador a letter signed by the Duke of Guise, in which he promised the protection of France to the Provinces.

Balthazar Gerbier hated France as only a man of French extraction could hate it. He was ever haunted by fears of the evil to come if the perennial Gallic designs on Belgium should be carried out. On seeing Guise's letter he temporised no longer, but immediately exhibited the autograph of King Charles, and told the nobles that he was much surprised to find the doings of a Duke of Anjou, fifty years before, already forgotten. It would be better, he said, to be conquered by the United Provinces (who had been politic enough to concede religious liberty to the newly annexed territory) than by "a nation so fierce and so inconstant as the French." The masqueraders assured Sir Balthazar that they preferred the protection of Great Britain to either, and he in his turn wrote to his sovereign :

I can assure your Majesty that these States offer to place in my hands absolute means of rendering your Majesty master of this business, to the exclusion of the French; so that if the Spaniards fail to obtain a truce, they will find themselves excluded for ever from these countries.

But there was yet another power, though a small one, to be reckoned with in the disposition of the Provinces. Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, was the widower of the Infanta Catherine, younger daughter of Philip II., and he considered, one hardly knows why, that his son was the lawful heir to all the duchies and counties of the Netherlands. He professed, however, his unwillingness to disturb the Archduchess Isabel with his claim; his intention was to press it after her decease, and in the meanwhile he had sent the Abbate della Scaglia to Brussels to act as his minister and to watch events. Scaglia indeed gave out that he was there rather to serve the Archduchess than the Duke of Savoy; but his dealings with Gerbier

show what manner of service he was likely to render to Isabel. He and Gerbier were well matched; it was diamond cut diamond with this pair of smiling, intriguing, chattering, and spying ministers. Scaglia was anxious that Charles should intervene in the truce negotiation, so that if arranged at all, it should be made, as the phrase went, by *Via Regia*; and Gerbier, while making use of him on this ground, concealed from him for the present all those stirring episodes of the nocturnal conferences and trysts at the chateau beyond the gates. His confabulations with Scaglia, however, were duly reported by him to his friends at the country houses. By this time he knew who some of them were. The identity of the first conspirator, of him who came to Gerbier's window by night, was only revealed to him under a solemn vow of secrecy, but the others seem to have made less mystery, and in one of his letters he enclosed two of their names on a separate slip of paper. On the margin of this letter we find written in the King's own hand, "Comtes d'Egmont et Warfusé, le Chef des Finances." This side-light is rather surprising, for both those nobles were supposed at the time to belong to the French party. Egmont soon afterwards fled to France, where he died a few years later; and the fate of the worthless Warfusé was to be torn to pieces by an infuriated mob at Liège, in punishment for his foul murder of their burgomaster. Gerbier himself had a profound contempt for his masqued nobles, with their desire of Stars and Garters, their aimless ferocity and inherent helplessness. The most politic and thoughtful of the Belgians, he openly told the king, would give themselves to nobody, but aimed only at being "Free Catholic States," under the joint protection of England and France. However, the aggrandisement of His Majesty was the principal thing to be looked to, and Gerbier first sent his secretary, then went himself, to London to lay the state of things before the King. Lovers of Old London may be interested to know that his postal address in town was "the house of Jean Baptiste Feryn the Queene's perfumer dwelling in drury-lane (*sic*) near the horse-showe Tavern."

Gerbier found Charles exceedingly bent on assuming the Brabantine and Flemish coronets without thereby incurring a quarrel with the actual possessors of those costly and

troublesome baubles. Never before or since was a monarch so anxious to annex the states of others, and yet so full of refined consideration for those whom he was going to despoil. He told Gerbier, walking in St. James's Park, that he thought the Archduchess would be able to hold her own against invasion during the ensuing summer at least; and, the better to enable her to do so, he refused permission to the Dutch to recruit in his dominions that year, although the Archducal officers were allowed to buy their quota of English mercenaries, according to the extraordinary custom prevalent at that time between neutral states. "Your Majesty," Gerbier wrote to him afterwards *à propos* of this prohibition, "makes good your own prophetic."

Nevertheless, the strange, inconsistent fraud was still being carried on by King and Minister. And here it is necessary to enter into a circumstance which lends an additional interest to the elucidation of this curious passage in history. I refer to Hallam's assertion that in these intrigues a great man was involved, with whose name we are accustomed to associate only what is most honourable to human nature. In a quite gratuitous parenthesis Hallam says that "one whom we should little expect to find in these paths of conspiracy, Peter Paul Rubens, was the negotiator [of this intrigue]." And then he refers to the Hardwicke extracts, in none of which, nor yet in Gerbier's unpublished correspondence, does a word occur suggestive of Rubens' complicity in the plot. Rubens, who had long been court painter to the Archdukes, always treated by them with the most considerate attention, and often employed as an envoy to foreign courts, was in full political activity during the years 1632-33 as the confidential agent of the Archduchess Isabel. He was much engaged at Antwerp and the Hague, in trying to negotiate a truce on her part with the United Provinces, and his name naturally occurs very often in contemporary correspondence, but nearly always in this character. He was a devoted servant of Isabel, and suffered in her cause what must have been keen humiliations to a man of genius. As her special envoy, he had to endure the stupid rudeness of great Belgian nobles who were seeking the same truce on behalf of the States-General, especially the Duke of Aerschot. This *grand seigneur*, though less seditious

than an Espinoy or a Warfuzé, was yet an insecure politician, and a blatant talker, when flushed with wine—a man, in short, who more or less maintained those traditions of a tipsy weathercock which had long ago gathered round the title of Aerschot. He thought fit to insult the great painter because Rubens had not shown him papers relating to the negotiation between Isabel and Orange; in an egregiously insolent letter he reminded him that they were not equals, and expressed a hope that Rubens would learn “how persons of his sort ought to comport themselves towards persons of the Duke’s sort.” That the Duke and Rubens were not equals, the few students of history who so much as know that Aerschot ever existed will certainly admit.

I have gone into this digression to show that Rubens was entirely occupied in serving Isabel, at the very time when his modern accusers would have it that he was trying to sell her territory to Charles I. It is well known how Rubens had previously visited London, how he went there as Isabel’s envoy, how the art-loving Charles patronised and knighted him, and what were the fruits of his labours in our country. It is also known that he was on terms of friendship with Gerbier, based on artistic sympathy and love of curios. But these very intimacies render Hallam’s story the more improbable. For, had Rubens been “the negotiator” of the treason—and if he was he could be no other than the masqued man himself—Gerbier would not have been mystified as he was at his first initiation into the conspiracy, nor would he, in his turn, have mystified the king himself as he did for a time in consequence of his oath to conceal the identity of his visitor. Gerbier mentioned Rubens at this time very frequently as the agent of the attempted truce, and *once only* in connection with his own Anglo-Flemish conspiracy. The passage is among the Hardwicke extracts, and is in this wise. Gerbier writes word to Secretary Coke that the Archduchess had put off assembling the States-General (whom, however, she convoked shortly afterwards, on the 9th of September, 1632),

by reason of advertisements received from Nicolaldi [Spanish resident] in England, which were to the effect that of all her nobles, only the Duke of Aerschot remained faithful to Spain. The Infanta

summoned, therefore, the States to a secret council, and showed them the letters "in which there was set down in express terms that upon some conference between persons in England advertisement was given that upon the loss of Maestricht these States should cast off the Spanish government." The Infanta showed said letters to Sir Peter Rubens, who told me that they bore such information as would hazard the lives of many in this country.

It is inconceivable that this passage, which still, as ever, shows Rubens in the light of the Infanta's confidential agent, and which does not bear so directly on the Anglo-Flemish plot as on the general disloyalty of the Belgian *noblesse*, should have been tortured into a proof of the artist's guilt. It is said, whether correctly or not, that there is no calumny without some grain of sand by way of foundation; such a grain, in this case, may have been the fact that Rubens, sometime previously, had made a voyage to England in his private or artistic capacity only. M. Emile Gachet, who gave to the world the "*Lettres inédites de P. P. Rubens*" indignantly rejects Hallan's accusation. "That the devoted servant of Isabel," he says, "he who hitherto, like his mistress, had bravely submitted to the hard law of destiny, that Rubens should suddenly have forgotten the Infanta, and sold his services to England! This seems to us incredible." M. Gachet, indeed, is at more pains to defend his hero from the counter-accusations which the "*Liberal coterie*" have often levelled against him, that of *not* having joined any of the parties who sought to deliver their country from the yoke of Spain. But he concludes that it was more creditable to Rubens to hold aloof from so frivolous, vain, noisy, and incompetent a crew, as the Belgian patriots of those days showed themselves in the face of Europe to be.

To return to the English King and his Ambassador. During the spring of 1633 Charles was still hoping and Gerbier intriguing. Maestricht had fallen, and all hopes of a truce between the Dutch and Belgian Provinces had been brought to an end by the excessive demands of the former and the hesitations of the latter; but on the other hand Isabel had strengthened her frontiers, and had taken such prompt measures with regard to some of the traitor nobles as to cause a degree of dismay among the rest. Also, the death of Gustavus

Adolphus renewed, to some extent, the hopes of the House of Austria. Yet was the position of the Archduchess, wedged in between hostile Holland, aggressive France, and intriguing England, a most critical and uncertain one. There was still a "French party" in the land, but Richelieu now aimed rather at conquering Belgium in alliance with Holland than at gaining it through help of the malcontent nobles, whose vanity and incapacity he does not spare in his "*Mémoires*." An offensive alliance between France and Holland against the House of Austria was, however, the last thing that Charles I. desired. If some one must plunder his brother the King of Spain, and his "good sister and aunt," the Infanta, it ought to be himself, for he had already proved in his letters how much more consoling it is to be plundered by friends than by enemies. In April, 1633, he sent a strict command to Gerbier, through Secretary Coke, to break the oath which he had taken, and to reveal in confidence to the king alone the name of his mysterious friend who was desirous of becoming a British subject. Sir Balthazar manifested the tenderness of his conscience by devoutly hoping that his oath of allegiance to his sovereign would be held to supersede all lesser vows; and forthwith enclosed the name on a separate slip of paper in a private letter, partly cipher, to the king. Probably the king burned the postscript; at least it is not to be found, and the world is fated to remain in ignorance of the dramatic masquerader's identity. Whatever his name, there can be no doubt from the mystery surrounding it, that he was a very great personage, as Belgian nobles went. This is not the same as saying that he was a great man. Probably the name was either Espinoy, Brabançon, or Bournonville, or that of some near relation of one of these nobles, who were all supposed to be in the English interest. It made an impression, however, on Charles, who now showed symptoms of proceeding to extremities. His instructions to Gerbier became almost decided in their tone.

"The main thing," Charles and his ministers concluded, "was to get troops in or about the Catholic Provinces;" but, at the same time, the king repeated to his envoy the old platitudes about the impropriety of seducing the subjects of Philip IV. from their allegiance.

Nevertheless [Secretary Coke added] in case they desire his Majesty's assistance or protection, you may assure them, in his name, that on such declaration to him by a public minister having power to give fit conditions for safe landing, quarter, and retreat, he will presently send them sufficient forces to their defence, and will protect them in their goods, liberties, trade, and religion, against all men, and means not only to maintain, but much to increase them.

Thus Charles, who at home was so tender of the liberties, civil and religious, of his own subjects!

In a copious "Note," Coke further elucidates the king's real designs as clearly as it is possible to explain plans so curiously involved and so utterly impracticable. The nobles, both spiritual and temporal, were to be assured of his Majesty's favour, "not only preserving them in their dignities and estates, but for hopes of their advancements whereof they would be capable under a potent King, but not under a popular State." The merchants must be reminded that as citizens of free States their traffic would be under the control of Holland, who held the mouth of the Scheldt; and a "secret offer of alliance," which, as appears from this letter, "some members of the mercantile class had made to England, was to be accepted." Moreover, Coke's plans for making King Philip and the Archduchess willing instruments of their own dethronement, and so avoiding that hostile encounter which a burglarious entrance into their dominions could not but entail, are quite phenomenal in their mingled *naïveté* and ingenuity. King Charles, he thought, "might make use of his alliance with the Spaniards who already possessed the government and the arms."

To treat with the Spaniards for an absolute resignation [the Treasurer very sagely continued] is not worth the while, and to descend to give them aid for their own subsistence is not worth the cost. There remain but two ways. The first is to get from them in Flanders what we can by way of deposition, to be held by our arms, and restored by such reimbursement or other satisfaction as shall be fit. *The other is to receive that Earldom and what other may be gotten, by way of investiture, with a reserved homage and recognition of that King as Duke of Burgundy, in such sort as Normandy was long held of France.*

The Spanish resident in London and the Abbate della Scaglia were, in some way unexplained, to be the instruments of this startling change. It would appear that Scaglia had really made a handsome offer to England "of some of the

inland provinces," an offer which, as Coke wisely observed, was not otherwise remarkable than as a proof of willingness to give something; and an attempt must be made to bring the enterprising minister of Savoy into England. A bribe to be held out to the Spanish government was "the safe convoy and transportation of the Spaniards into their country, which otherwise than by his Majesty they could not hope for;" the passes of Savoy, apparently, through which formerly Spanish armies had retired into Italy, being closed by concerted arrangement against Philip's troops.

Here, then, was Charles, ready and anxious to take over a very ungovernable continental country, and prepared, moreover, to assume the position of a vassal, holding the "Earldom" of Flanders from the King of Spain, as Normandy had been held from the King of France until the Plantagenets considered themselves to have annexed that kingdom altogether. The full consent of Spain to her own spoliation was to be given, in consideration of her expelled troops sailing down the Channel in safety!

The whole scheme reads like a child's romance. The government of the Archduchess Isabel had indeed sustained numerous defeats, but was not in such straits that it must needs barter away its "Earldoms" and its duchies. Throughout the autumn and spring Isabel had been making unheard-of efforts to save her nephew's possessions; she pawned her jewels, she prevailed on the States-General to grant supplies, she raised levies and strengthened fortresses, and her great French opponent, Richelieu, has left it on record that her energy, no less than the incapacity of Belgian malcontents, was instrumental in checking the designs of France. The designs of England were fated to be checked also.

In the summer of 1633 the whole Anglo-Flemish plot somehow became known to Isabel and to Philip. Sir Balthazar Gerbier, later in his career, declared to the world that Lord Cottington, the Ambassador at Madrid, had betrayed it to the Spanish Court. But at the time Gerbier himself held a different opinion. His conviction, in August 1633, was that after all the oaths of secrecy exacted from himself, all the mysterious signs and masqued faces, and melodramatic attitudes of the Belgian conspirators, one or more of themselves

revealed the plot to the Archduchess, as was known to be the case with those others who were pledged to France. He wrote word home that the States were both angry and disconcerted because "some false brethren had discovered many concealed passages," but that they were not in a position to discern which were the culprits. He had heard from his "correspondent" that Isabel had just sent Don Juan de Benavides to Spain, carrying thither most part of these States' secret negotiation with their neighbours, *none accepted*. "The party who discovered said mystery unknown." Gerbier himself was not without confusion at thoughts of the figure he must cut in the eyes of a princess whom he really admired, and who had always treated him with distinction.

If these ministers [he wrote] should make any public expression forasmuch as may concern the overtures made to me of States' designs, I shall attend the storm with that face which becomes a public minister who hath ears to hear but not tongue to answer till his sovereign bids him.

The death of Isabel, on November 30th, of which, to do him justice, Gerbier writes in feeling terms, relieved him from the anticipated shame of reappearing in her presence as a revealed intriguer with her subjects. But history had not heard quite the last of Sir Balthazar and his machinations. On the outbreak of the Civil War in England, he proved himself as great a turncoat as though his name had been Egmont, or Berg, or Warfuzé. He became a Parliamentary, and deserted the sacred sovereign, to whose interests his own honour was formerly sacrificed. After the death of the king he published a pamphlet called "The Non-such Charles," in which he described the plot of 1632-3, and held up Cottington as the divulger of it. Whether or no this was so is hard to prove, since we have just seen that Gerbier first supposed Isabel to have given information of the plot to Madrid, on reports made to her by the plotters themselves at Brussels. Certainly Cottington loved "the things of Spain;" he continued to reside at Madrid as Ambassador of Charles II., though it was said that he was held in small account there. This is likely enough, because the dynasty which he represented was naturally not much loved at Madrid. Hallam is doubtless right in surmising that the discovery of Charles I.'s

intrigues with Belgium was the cause of the indifference with which Spain always regarded his misfortunes. Gerbier himself seems not to have prospered very well in his new character, though he did his best to keep himself *en evidence*. In 1658, a quarter of a century after his machinations at Brussels, we find him making an offer to the powers that then were "to use some means which he formerly put in practice during the siege of Maestricht, to move the States of Brabant and Flanders to shake off Spanish government, so secrecy be kept better than it was when Francis Cottington betrayed that business." He also offered "to endeavour in person the destroying of any port of the Spaniards, by a means which is infallible by the Lord's permission."

But in spite of his great experience, and his adoption of Puritan phraseology, the Parliament seems to have had no desire to employ Sir Balthazar either as a conspirator or a destroyer of ports. He died in Holland almost in penury, and, it is said, partially insane.

Such is the history of this whimsical *rapprochement* between the Belgic and Anglo-Saxon sides of the Channel, an intrigue sure to come to nought in the hands of a sovereign whose political views were so superficial as those of Charles I., and of conspirators so uncertain and frivolous as the Belgian patriots of the seventeenth century. . .

A. M. GRANGE.

ART. VII.—TOSTI'S LIFE OF ST. BENEDICT.

Della vita di San Benedetto : Discorso storico di D. Luigi Tosti, Benedettino Cassinese. Monte Cassino. 1892.

UNDER the above title, a Life of St. Benedict has lately appeared, written by the celebrated and learned monk of Monte Cassino, who has already enriched literature with volumes of such research as is worthy of the traditions of his Order.

Modern lives of St. Benedict are not only rare but one may say unknown, and the reason is often said to be that after St. Gregory the Great no one would venture on such a work. Written though it be with an authority and, with means of knowledge such as could never be again, with a style inimitable for its elegance, its beauty, and its appreciation of the subject, we would fain have a modern life, not for the sake of new facts, for that could not be, but to show us, what St. Gregory could not, the influence of that life on the world since then—on its civilisation, its literature, its art, and, above all, on the Church and upon souls. The moral actions and the circumstances of a man's life confined within the limits of his own individuality are not history. History only begins when man crosses those confines and extends his action to the social relations of family, State, and nation, and, as in this case, to the whole world. Tosti modestly calls his book a "historic discourse" on the life of St. Benedict, and begins by telling us that he has aimed more at entering into the spirit and heart of the great legislator than at erudite discussions, which have been exhausted by Mabillon, Haeften, Baronius, and many other Benedictine and non-Benedictine writers. His life is the result of the loving study of a son into his father's character, of the meditation of a monk on the model he desires to imitate, the ideal of his monastic life.

As is well-known, the sources of St. Benedict's life are few. First, we have that inimitable life in the second book of the Dialogues of the great monastic Pope Gregory, who may in a sense be called a contemporary writer, because though he was

born but three years before the death of the subject of his biography, yet he had all his information from those who could tell him of what they "had seen with their eyes, what they had looked upon and their hands had handled." Secondly, there is Mark, the poet, who became a monk at Monte Cassino during St. Benedict's lifetime, and wrote a Latin hymn of thirty-three distichs, in which he relates the arrival at Cassino and some particulars omitted by St. Gregory. And, thirdly and fourthly, there are the lives of SS. Maurus and Placidus, both of which were, it is true, interpolated later on, but the interpolations are so obvious, from their anachronisms, that there is no difficulty in separating them from the original history.

But although Tosti bases his life on these sources he does not disregard such oral traditions as are countenanced by trustworthy writers, for these, he says, should not be despised but carefully and reverently followed up, not as certain facts, but as helps to reasonable conjecture. So much then for the sources of the life of him whom Peter the Deacon calls: *Vir egregius ac post Apostolos singularis*.

St. Benedict was a Roman of the Trans-Tiberine region, but was born at Norcia, a Roman Province, together with his twin-sister Scholastica, in the year 480. *Gente Romanus, patria Nursinus*, says Wion. He was of the ancient and noble family of the Anicii, on part of the site of whose Roman palace still stands the little church of S. Benedetto in Piscinula. Quaint and old indeed the church looks, and venerable the tradition that it formed part of the palace, and was by St. Benedict himself turned into a church under the invocation of Our Lady, and, after his death, was called by his own name. Tosti observes that the pavement of the church is not all of one style. That at the entrance is paved with large pieces of Parian marble of evident Roman work, and of an age far remote from the *opus Alexandrinum* with which the floor further on is ornamented; and he takes this as a confirmation of the tradition that the house was converted into a church. Perhaps too, he says, the square space covered with Alexandrine work is the site occupied by the room of the holy youth when studying in Rome.

This is not the time to go into more detail on this subject, nor yet on the mural painting of Our Lady which was on the

wall near the "room of St. Benedict," and which was, some years ago, removed to the House of Studies at Sant' Ambrogio. But there are a few details of special interest to English readers which must not be omitted.

The famous Benedictine Abbot, Constantine Gaetano, in 1621, bought this site and church, and, with the sanction of Gregory XV., began to build on the place of the old Anician Palace a college for Benedictine monks where they would be taught to fight *more majorum* by word and work against heresy. He also collected for the new institution a large library rich in printed books and valuable manuscripts which was to be called the Anician Library. But his plan seems to have suggested a still larger scheme, for the College of Propaganda was begun and the funds and library were all made over to it, whilst the unfinished building and church was given to the English Benedictines. Nothing is said how they lost it. On September 7, 1650, Gaetano died and was buried on the gospel side of the church, but no stone marks the last resting-place of this zealous lover of his order. A lengthy Latin inscription was composed by the learned Benedictine Galetti, from which the above details are taken and which is given in full in Tosti's Life.

At an early age St. Benedict was sent to the Roman schools, and his subsequent life makes it fully evident that he profited by the advantages there given him.

When St. Gregory says that he went to Subiaco "skilfully ignorant and wisely unlearned," he refers to his statement in a former sentence on the wickedness of his Roman surroundings. Great doubt is thrown by Tosti on the generally received opinion of the Saint's age when he left Rome, and he devotes some pages to his reasons for believing it more likely that he was twenty rather than fourteen. The chief argument is drawn from the temptation by which he was assailed when in his cave on the Simbruine mountains, a temptation which, all the circumstances considered, could hardly assail one who had left the world as a mere boy. For it must be remembered that St. Gregory tells us that the temptation took the form of a certain young girl, perhaps of the Roman aristocracy, of the house of the Merula, whose beauty and other attractions had not been without their effect on the heart of the saint, and

it is not unlikely that a growing love, which he generously set aside for Christ, may have been a strong motive in his secret flight from Rome, for there was no lack of monasteries there where he could, if he had wished, have dedicated himself to the service of God. How far Tosti may be justified in this departure from what may be called the tradition of the order I do not know. To me it seems there is much for and much against it.

He left Rome by the Nomentan Road (and how one loves to follow him step by step) with Cyrilla his nurse, the only confidant of his plans, and directed his way towards the mountains of Tivoli, following the course of the Anio. At Affile he worked his first miracle, but the veneration shown by the people in consequence drove him from the little town where too he had left his nurse Cyrilla. She had led to the threshold of Subiaco the child of her heart, and after this she disappears from our sight.

Climbing Mount Taleo St. Benedict met the monk Romanus, to whom he confided his desire of leading not the life of a cenobite, but of an anchorite. And here the ground on which Tosti rested so much in his argument as to one great reason of the saint's flight from Rome is taken from under his feet. An anchoretic life could not be led in Rome, and therefore he was forced to leave if only to fulfil his vocation. To account for his leaving, it is not necessary to have recourse to the supposition that he sought to escape the influence of any Roman lady.

St. Benedict, in commencing with a hermit's and then taking on himself a monk's life, curiously enough reverses the order which he afterwards laid down in his Rule when he says that hermits are those

who not in the first fervour of devotion, but after long probation in the monastic life, have learned to fight against the devil, and, after being aided by the comfort and encouragement of others, are now able, by God's assistance, to strive hand to hand against the flesh and evil thoughts, and so go forth from the army of the Brotherhood to the single combat of the wilderness.

Romanus, in answer to the confidence of St. Benedict, gave him a religious habit, and recognising the designs of God over this wonderful and chosen soul, installed him in the cave

where he was to make his noviceship as it were of the highest paths of the spiritual life. Touching was the mission of St. Romanus. He assisted the beginning and was privileged to behold the end of that glorious life, for to him was granted to behold the soul of St. Benedict in his flight from this world. He from Subiaco and St. Maurus from Monte Cassino together celebrated in France the first Feast of the Transit of the Saint who had commenced his grand life at Subiaco and ended it at Monte Cassino. The cave was unknown to all. Behind it was a very high rock, part of which formed its roof, and by which it was impossible to descend; from beneath ascent was equally impossible on account of the brushwood and fragments of rock which covered the steep declivity.

In the valley beneath flowed the Anio, its course a reminder of our fleeting life, the continuous sound of its waters a *memento homo* of the eternity of the life awaiting us after death. The mountains rising abruptly on the other and opposite side bar the view of the landscape, leaving only towards the east a small opening into the world beyond, and the brief vision of distant peaks and villages gilded by the rays of the sun. Terrible must have been the solitude where every breath of human companionship was stilled, but all powerful to raise to and keep in the presence of God a soul athirst for Him, the Spring of wisdom and of love. Everywhere and always God can be adored; in such a place as this He can be felt.

This life of most intense solitude was unbroken for three years. No one visited the young hermit, no one heard of him. Romanus kept his secret, and his scanty food was at times let down to him by a cord in a basket; but when, as St. Gregory tells us, it "pleased the Divine Goodness to free Romanus from his labours and to manifest to the world the life of St. Benedict for an example to all men," he appeared to a certain priest dwelling, according to a tradition, four miles from Subiaco and directed him to go to his servant and share with him the Easter meal he had prepared for himself. So entire was his solitude, so utter his ignorance of all that went on in the outer world, that even the flight of time, the epochs that divided the ecclesiastical year itself, were unknown by the Saint. In the meeting, as recorded by St. Gregory, we are struck especially by

a trait of character hardly perhaps to be expected from one so long removed from the refinements of life. His courtesy marked unmistakably the Roman gentleman: "I know that that day must be Easter on which I have the pleasure of seeing you."

From this time the "land that was desolate became glad and the wilderness rejoiced. Waters broke out in the desert and streams in the wilderness and a path and a way were there, and it was called the holy way." First came the shepherds; then others attracted first by this fame of sanctity, and then, when they had seen the youthful Saint, by the reality which showed itself in the effect produced by living in close communionship with Christ in God.

Then came the great temptation which it is unnecessary to relate, and which I refer to because Tosti, in speaking of it, again urges the likelihood of an early love who he thinks probably belonged to the family of the Merula, because St. Gregory calls the bird under which the temptation came by that name, and he adds that the impression made on his heart in Rome was a definite and lasting one, and one which succumbed only to time and violent penance.

Vicovaro is a town between Subiaco and Tivoli, where there was a monastery of monks who had lately lost their abbot. These almost forced the Saint to become his successor, probably hoping to draw the prestige which was surrounding the Subiaco cave to their own monastery. But they found that the price was too high. Their new abbot was determined to enforce the observance of discipline and his subjects rebelled and tried to poison him. He left them and returned again to the "solitude he loved so well." The remains of that monastery belong now to the sons of St. Francis. The refectory where the attempt at poison was made is still shown, and very lovely is the view of and from those ruins—tall cypresses rise up in their majesty against the grey background of rock, from which fall in thick rich garlands great ropes of ivy. The river Anio rushes at the foot of the mountain, and, like Subiaco again, mountains rise on the other side.

But God's time for the commencement of the great work confided to his servant had really come, and children gathered round him. According to Tosti, who founds his opinion on

the last chapter of the Rule, where St. Basil is called "our Holy Father Basil," St. Benedict gave as a code of life to his monks at Subiaco the Rule of that Saint, and he scouts the idea of the Rule, which was to become that of all Western monks, being written there. Indeed he would seem to wish to impress upon us that that Rule was not even necessarily observed in the twelve monasteries built there, excepting in that of St. Clement, where the Saint himself lived with a chosen and privileged few.* These he instructed more carefully than the others. Amongst them were Maurus and Placidus, who initiated the custom of the oblation of children to the monastic life, a custom provided for in the ninth chapter of the Rule, and which Faustus, the biographer of St. Maurus, relates as having been fulfilled in himself. St. Boniface, the great Apostle of Germany, and Venerable Bede are English examples of the same.

These two great Saints, Maurus and Placidus, were both trained for a great work, both were to be Apostles of the Order and one its first martyr. Of St. Maurus St. Benedict used to say that, "whilst yet a youth he attained the perfection of monastic life," and we know how he associated him to himself on many of the most important occasions of his life. Nor was St. Placidus much less loved by his master. In his vigil on the mountain top when, in his fatherly love and care for his children, he was praying for a spring of water that might ease them of their labour of fetching it from the foot of the mountain, Placidus was his companion. These Saints, like so many others in the communities subject to St. Benedict, were of noble family; but he remembered the words of St. Paul, that with God there is no accepting of persons, and so the poor rough Goth was as willingly received by him as such as these, and no question was asked of him as to his birth, his learning, or his possessions; he had faith and a strong arm to labour, and that sufficed to become a monk of St. Benedict.

Even Subiaco was not to be the Saint's rest for ever. Troubles came, as where will they not? That happy assemblage of monks was to have its peaceful happiness broken in upon in a way that hardly could have been anticipated.

* Page 78 *et passim* should be compared with p. 213.

An enemy, envying the influence of St. Benedict, and having vainly tried to destroy the peace which reigned under his rule, tried other means, and the man of God, seeing that this would never end during their lives, "gave place to envy" and left the home of so many years, left those who loved him so deeply and whom he loved so devotedly, for whose good he had worked and worn himself out. He left them, and we can hardly realise the grief on both sides on that departure, the blank in hitherto happy lives. Worse than all, there may have been a but uncertain loyalty to the Father leaving them; insinuations, perverted facts, were doubtless heaped up against him by his enemy; no means, however ignominious, would have been left unemployed. And so he went, went to a new work, to a wider apostolate, for "we know that to those who love God all things work together for good." And he had one unspeakable consolation. His best beloved, his choicest children accompanied him, those whom he had himself formed with special care.

When he was some distance on his road a message came telling him his adversary was dead, and the bearer of the news was the monk Maurus, who Tosti says was not St. Maurus, but another monk of the same name. The fiat, however, had gone forth, and St. Benedict went on his way. That he had intended at some time to leave Subiaco and found a monastery elsewhere, for which he had so carefully instructed certain more chosen souls, the author of this Life thinks certain. Monte Cassino is not found amongst the list of the donations made to St. Benedict by Tertullus the father of St. Placidus, but there are many reasons for believing that the gift was really made by him; and certainly the fact that he and his disciples were allowed to settle at Monte Cassino and destroy the altar erected to Apollo, the groves and idols, without opposition, prove that he went with a recognised authority. Mark, the poet, affirms that the choice of Monte Cassino was made by the Divine command, and he tells us that the travellers were preceded by two angels, who, when the way divided, pointed out which they were to take. Nor must we forget that he also says that three ravens, which the Saint had been accustomed to feed, followed him. On his way he passed the monastery of St. Sebastian, which had been built a few years

before on the top of a mountain to the East of Alatri, the abbot of which was his friend, the deacon Servandus, who later on used often to visit Monte Cassino and who was sleeping in the lower tower when Benedict from the window of the upper saw the soul of Germanus ascend to Heaven. In return for the hospitality received, St. Benedict gave to Servandus and his monks a bell which later came into possession of the Benedictine nuns in Alatri, where it still exists. Its ancient shape makes it highly probable that it really is the original that has come down to us, and not a copy as so often happens in such cases. It is without mark or inscription of any sort.

The Latin way was the road followed, and in time Cassino was reached. At this period it was in a sad state. Thirty-five or thirty years before it had been almost utterly destroyed by the Goths, and in a great measure depopulated. Nor was this the worst. Idolatry had its roots deep in this mountain. Marvellous it may seem that such could have been the case in the sixth century, but we must remember how these poor people were circumstanced. They had then no bishop, for Severus, who is last mentioned in 487, had no successor. Idolatry had never been totally eradicated, and the absence of all pastoral care was naturally followed by the people lapsing deeper and deeper into their superstitions and heathen practices, and we must suppose that the Goths had in this way also wrought terrible harm to the inhabitants of the town.

When St. Benedict arrived at about a quarter of a mile from the summit of the mountain, he stopped at a spot covered with ancient oaks and beeches, which is even now called Monte Venere, perhaps on account of an altar there, formerly dedicated to Venus. In 1820 descendants of those venerable trees covered the spot, but were all destroyed by the Neapolitan soldiers in their defence against the Austrians. Since then some have again sprung up from the ancient roots and are now reverently preserved. Near them is the rock on which are said to be imprinted the marks of the knees of St. Benedict, who, as he came in sight of the summit of that mountain where he was to exercise his difficult apostolate, knelt to beg the blessing of God; for, as St. Gregory says, the "Holy man by removing changed his habitation, but not his adversary, for he endured there more sharp conflicts," and, endowed as he was with the

gift of prophecy, these future struggles could hardly be unknown to him.

At the time when the Saint came to the mountain the peak was encircled by walls and towers, which served as defence and refuge to the underlying town, as was common to all the great Greek and Latin cities. This was the Roman citadel which occupied the highest peaks of the mountains, but in pre-historic times there had been a wider girdle of cyclopean walls, a great part of which still existed at St. Benedict's advent there; much had been taken away to build the Roman citadel, but it served still more as a quarry from which, later, materials were taken to build the modern abbey. Remains are visible even to this day. The entrance tower of this Pelasgic citadel was still standing when St. Benedict arrived, and in it he took up his abode for forty days, preparing, like his divine Master, for his coming work. His disciples and the people who had followed him from the town below remained outside bewailing their temporary separation from their master. The author of the "*Life of St. Placidus*," as well as "*Paul the Deacon*," tells us clearly that this retreat was made during the forty days of Lent. In this year (529) Easter fell on the eighth of April, therefore on February 27 St. Benedict arrived on Monte Cassino, and in January he left Subiaco. Taking away the few days necessary for his journey to Monte Cassino, it is clear that he had six weeks in which he could work for the conversion of the inhabitants. On the 8th of April he left the Pelasgic tower and proceeded to the gate of the first tower of the Roman citadel, which afterwards became his own habitation, and which still remains full of such and so many memories as can attach themselves to no other place. In it he prayed and studied; in it he wrote his immortal Rule; from its windows he beheld the soul of St. Germanus, Bishop of Capua, carried to heaven in a globe of fire; and his twin-sister, Scholastica, wing her pure flight from earth in the form of a snow-white dove.

The destruction of the idol of Apollo was his first work. It stood on the top of a twisted column of white Parian marble. In place of the overthrown idol, St. Benedict set the processional cross he had used in his coming, to perpetuate the memory of the triumph of the cross over the devil. This pillar is now in

the cloister in front of the church on the right-hand side. The height of this column is over six feet and a half, and its circumference three feet. Its authenticity is indubitable. Mabillon, Wion, Millet, Marangoni, were all convinced that it is what it professes to be, as well as the cross surmounting it, which is clearly of the sixth century.

Faithful to the traditions of the Roman Church, St. Benedict built an oratory on the place where the altar to Apollo had been. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and there for fourteen centuries has stood the Cassinese Basilica. Beneath the pagan altar there had been a crypt from which the priests of the idol gave their answers, and here when his work was over the great legislator was laid to rest, together with his sister Scholastica. There remained still the temple of Apollo; this too was suffered to stand, and was turned into an oratory or church in honour of St. Martin of Tours: this, unhappily, was pulled down by the Abbot Desiderius in the eleventh century, and rebuilt from the foundations, although it was the last relic of the ancient edifices. This also was destroyed in the sixteenth century by Bramante and Sangallo when designing the present magnificent church and abbey. Tosti gives the most interesting archaeological details about Monte Cassino, but in a review of this kind it is impossible to do more than refer to them as adding immensely to the interest and value of his work.

The apostolic spirit and work of St. Benedict is much dwelt on; his own work amongst the people round about, and the work of his disciples whom he sent to preach and teach. This apostolate and care of souls by the Saint was the origin of the quasi-episcopal jurisdiction which the abbots of Monte Cassino, his successors, have since had over the ancient diocese of Cassino. As we have seen, it had lost its bishop before his time, but not its status as a diocese; for that reason he who by a divine call had brought back its people to the faith became its spiritual shepherd.

This administration was confirmed by the Popes to his successors, and thus the abbots without episcopal character have ruled up to our day as quasi-bishops by Papal delegation, exempt from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan, their abbey being as it were a vicariate apostolic. Such abbeys, called *nullius*, are the most evident historic proofs of the right of the

Roman Pontiffs to set the limits of dioceses, and to reserve portions of their territories to be subject immediately to the Bishop of Rome.

It is strange that on the very mountain where sacrifices were offered to Apollo there should have been a holy hermit named Martin, who lived a life of great penance in a cavern, and who was held in veneration by the same people who worshipped the false god—a curious combination of faith and superstition, such as we might hardly have expected. This hermit, on the arrival of St. Benedict, went to Monte Marsico, and chained himself to a cell in which he lived, because it had no door, and he willed to go no further than its length permitted him. St. Benedict, hearing of this, sent one of his disciples to him, and with this simple message: "If thou be a servant of God let the chains of Christ bind thee, not those of iron"—opened up to him higher perfection than he had yet practised.

While St. Benedict gave himself up to the evangelisation of the idolators, he also looked after the building of the monastery, a monastery that was to have so much influence in the history of the Middle Ages. Whilst the building was progressing he dwelt in the tower of the citadel, and his monks probably in rooms which had belonged to the priests of Apollo. The saint was the sole architect of the monastery, and his monks the workmen, but as it is probable that their numbers were not sufficient, others it may be supposed came from Subiaco to help. Many were the difficulties to be encountered. The Evil One would not give up without a struggle the place so long his own, and in many ways he tried to hinder the work which in spite of him prospered and was at length finished. No description of it is given by St. Gregory, but from discoveries made in excavating, and by careful gleaning from late manuscripts, a little is known.

St. Benedict dwelt always in the tower. It was divided, as it is now, into two floors which were probably separated by a wooden pavement. In the lower apartment, which was nine yards long by four broad, there was a window towards the east; there the saint lived; there he read, wrote, worked, received those who came to visit him, and performed some of his miracles. There his famous Rule was written. In the

room above were two windows, one towards the south, the other towards the west; this was his oratory, in which he had marvellous visions. It was connected with the floor below by stairs, and by these stairs Servandus ascended when called by the man of God to witness the soul of Germanus going to Heaven.

To the east of the tower was the dormitory of the monks. There were other dormitories for children, novices, &c.; the cells of the guests, who were never wanting; of the poor and pilgrims, who were still more gladly to be welcomed, as "Christ is more truly received in them"; then there were the refectory, kitchen, cellar, garden, mill; the offices where the monks exercised their various crafts; the library with its manuscripts. The church of the monastery was not that of St. John the Baptist, but the oratory of St. Martin, for the former was higher up the mountain, and separated from the monastery by rocks and a small wood. A gate to the east of the tower opened on to what a MS. of the eighth century calls a podium—that is, a little portico—from which the Saint could see his monks at their occupations, and also those strangers who entered by the south gate of the tower. Here he sat, but never without some codex in his hand, and so he was found by the Goth Zalla and the poor persecuted peasants who came to him as to a sure refuge.

Having some idea of the form of the outward building, how one longs to people it with those living stones who were therein being chiselled and polished for the heavenly home to which their monastery was so peaceful and happy a vestibule. The names of some we know, and no one who loves the great Father of monks can have failed at some time to gather them together in imagination and group them round that grand central figure.

There was Maurus, who filled the office of prior of the monastery, and who supported his Father with the love of a son in the government of the community—and who shall say what their reciprocal feeling was? How the disciple merged himself in the work, desires, and feelings of his master. If nothing on earth can equal the possession of a faithful friend, what shall be said of one who lightens the burden of superiority by respect, love, sympathy, and the most loyal fidelity? After

this best-loved disciple came Placidus, whose personality seems such a living thing, and who must have been a joy and brightness to his abbot and the community. What Constantine must have been we can imagine, for he it was who was called upon to fill the place of abbot after St. Benedict. St. Gregory, who received from him so much material for the Life of his master, calls him "vir valde reverendissimus." At his death he was laid at the feet of his great predecessor, and rested there for five centuries, when Abbot Desiderius moved his body to the chapel of the martyred Abbot Bertherius; from this place he was again moved in the last century, and he now is honoured in the chapel dedicated to his successor, Saint Simplicius, who also was one of the disciples of St. Benedict, and whose Life was written after his death, but has unfortunately not come down to us. Vitalis and Bonitus, also successors of St. Benedict, have not, like the others mentioned, received the title of Saint. Again, there were Valentinian and Gregory, first two abbots of the Lateran. Four others received the cultus of saints; and they were Paulinus, Augustine, Constantinian, and Antonius; the two last were companions of St. Maurus into France, whilst two others (Simplicius and Faustus), after leaving Monte Cassino with him, lived forty years in France carrying out the grand principles they had learned in their noviceship under their great master; Severus, the little monk, who, crushed beneath the wall thrown down by the devil during the building of the monastery, had been raised from the dead by St. Benedict. But to this happy Cassinese community there remains one more to be added—Mark, surnamed the Poet, because he wrote the Life of his saintly Father after he became a monk at Monte Cassino. His carmen is only of sixty-four lines, but is written with such intensity of affection, that every word throws a ray of light on the actions of his master. In the most touching way he addresses him. "O Benedict," he says, "pray for thy Mark, and I hold it certain that even I shall go one day to the enjoyment of eternal life." And he ends with these words; "And thus I now beg thee to change into pure wheat the thorns that wound the hard heart of thy Mark."

A happy master, and thrice happy disciples! who can think without envy of that chosen group who were the privileged

sons of such and so great a Father? Saints they became because he who drew to, and kept them in the observance of the evangelical counsels, was a man who "lived with himself in the sight of Him who sees all things."

From this habitual vision from that source of justice there flowed into his own heart a wave of charity that descended into the hearts of his disciples, making of them and him one family. So their dwelling together in this brotherly love was as the happiness of Heaven. Thus Faustus and others could not tear themselves away from their Father, and these monks seemed like angels dwelling together in the House of God. The church resounded with their praises, the cloister echoed with the work of the workers, and the villages around with the sound of evangelical preaching. In the day-time the Benedictine plough furrowed the soil; in the silence of the night, after the "work of God" was finished, the monks were given the works of the great writers of Greece and Rome, which they transcribed; and so around the house of St. Benedict, silent and unseen, sprung up the first shoots of that social Christian civilisation at which he aimed.

Tosti gives many pages to a review of the Rule which formed such monks, but says it would be beyond the scope of his work to do more, and protests that he does not profess to give a commentary which in his modesty he declares himself unable to do. Those who read his admirable Life can have no doubt of the learning and the intensity of feeling which would enrich and grace such a commentary if he wrote it. He says, however, that he finds it necessary to dwell considerably on the Rule, as St. Gregory's words in speaking of it are: "And if any man desire to know more exactly the life and conversation of this holy Father, he may there behold it as in a mirror, for the blessed man could not possibly teach otherwise than he lived." To follow Tosti here would make this review too long, and so these beautiful pages must be left untouched.

There is an interesting account of the measure of bread which regulated the amount assigned daily to each monk, and which is still preserved. This precious relic of the sixth century is of bronze, having a ring above, by which it can be held; it is of Roman work, and its weight is a little more than 2 lbs. and a half avoirdupois. When the monks of Monte

Cassino were driven out of their monastery in the dead of night by the Lombards they fled to Rome, to the Lateran, carrying with them the original Codex of the Rule, the weight for bread, the measure for wine, and some few necessities. Their abbot, Bonitus, took the weight to the Lateran monastery, and Pope Gregory the Second, out of veneration for him who first had it in his hands, caused to be engraved round it these words : *Pondus libræ panis S. Benedicti*. The monks returned to their monastery under Abbot Petronax, and Pope Zachary, who appears to have kept the weight, made restitution of it to Monte Cassino. It was carefully preserved, as Peter the Deacon tells us, in the twelfth century, in the *vestiario*. At the beginning of the present century it was lost in the sack of the abbey by the French Republicans, but finally, in 1879, it returned to the possession of the monks at Monte Cassino. Tosti does not tell us how, but merely relates the fact, adding that its recovery was partly due to D. Anselmo Caplet.

St. Benedict wrote his Rule with his own hand, and we find that he made two copies. One was given to Saint Maurus to take into France, and is believed to have perished in the destruction of his monastery at Glanfeuil. The other, taken to Rome in 586, was brought back to Monte Cassino when the monks returned to their abbey under Abbot Petronax. In the *privilegium* of Pope Zachary there is mention made amongst the gifts to Saint Benedict of a copy of the Rule, *quam piissimus Pater manu propria scripsit*, from which it is clear that this precious document had, like the weight for bread, come into the hands (with the consent of the monks) of Popes Gregory II. and Zachary. From this autograph a copy was made in the eighth century, and sent by Abbot Theodemar to Charlemagne. In 884 the monks were turned out of their abbey by the Saracens, and took refuge at Teano, where there was a monastery dedicated to St. Benedict. Here they brought their treasured Codex ; but seven years after, fire destroyed the monastery, and it, with everything else, was consumed. There was an ancient tradition at Monte Cassino that a page had been saved from the flames and preserved there with great veneration. Simon Millet, the French Benedictine, relates that he saw it in 1605 enclosed in a reliquary of crystal and silver, on which were engraved these words : *Hæc est scriptura propria manus Sancti Benedicti Abbatis*.

At the end of the same century Mabillon saw it, but his opinion was that "the writing was posterior to the time of St. Benedict," and he conjectures that "it was perhaps a page from the autograph Rule taken into France by St. Maurus." How to understand this I do not know. In the first part of the sentence we are told that the writing is not as ancient as the time of St. Benedict; in the second that it is perhaps a portion of the copy of the Rule he wrote and sent into France.

A very interesting account is given in this Life by Tosti of the visit of Tertullus, the father of St. Placidus, to Monte Cassino, and of his affiliation to that community to which he had made so many donations. Before he left he had given not only a large portion of his great possessions, but his heart also, to St. Benedict, and had one more request to make—namely, that when he died his body might be buried outside the refectory door, so that the monks when entering it morning and evening might remember him and pray for his eternal rest. And up to this day an annual commemoration is made on July 16 for the soul of this great benefactor. Equitius, too, the father of St. Maurus, made offerings to St. Benedict of lands and churches, and his example was followed by Gordian, the father of St. Gregory the Great. These were by no means the only gifts nor the only benefactors, and they brought with them much anxiety through the necessity of keeping them as things belonging to God.

The Sicilian lands given by Tertullus were in danger of being seized by people who cared for neither saint nor monk, and St. Benedict resolved to send St. Placidus with some companions to form a Benedictine colony on the land that had belonged to his father. One of these companions was Gordian, who later wrote his Life; another was Donatus. They departed on May 20, A.D. 537, strengthened by words of encouragement from St. Benedict, in which he foretold their future martyrdom—a prophecy only too soon fulfilled, when the blood of the young abbot and his community, together with his brothers Eutychian and Victorinus, and his sister Flavia, who were on a visit to him at the time, flowed on the soil belonging to his family. Happy proto-martyr of the great Benedictine Order, prepared for the fight and for the victory on the heights of Subiaco and

Cassino ! Did not his thoughts in that last hour fly back to the night in the dim distance when his abbot took him as witness to his prayer in the quiet solitude of the mountain-top when asking for that spring of water that would lighten the labour of his monks ? Perhaps on that night he had turned to the little monk kneeling by his side, and, looking up into the starry skies, had said, "Lift up your heart, for this is the way by which you shall go to God." Hearing of his death for the faith, he rejoiced because his son had not lost that way, but was his own precursor into Heaven, and the precursor of the innumerable legions of holy monks who were to follow him.

A great trial came to St. Benedict as the days of his life were drawing to a close—a trial so great that Theoprobos, a nobleman who had become a monk, and was very intimate with the saint, found him in his cell,

weeping bitterly, and when he had waited a good while and saw he did not give over, he boldly demanded of him the cause of so great grief, and the man of God replied : "All this monastery I have built ; and whatsoever I have done for my brethren is by the judgment of Almighty God delivered up to the pagans, and I could hardly obtain from Him the lives of the monks dwelling in it." (Old English version.)

In fact, this prophecy was fulfilled under Pope Pelagius the Second, fifty years after it was made.

But this revelation of the destruction of the monastery was tempered by the propagation of the Order in France. The fame of St. Benedict and his monks had reached that country, and a request was brought to him to make a foundation in what is now the diocese of Mans. After prayer and counsel it was decided to accede to this request, and Maurus, the best beloved of his monastic family, the fairest flower of his community, was charged with the great work. With him were sent Constantinian, Faustus, and Antonius. St. Benedict was now old, his end was near, and he was more in want than ever of help in the government of his monks, and yet for love of his God and to propagate his Order he did not hesitate to offer in sacrifice him whom he had educated with so much care, and formed to be his successor in the abbatial office. To lose him, never to see him again, was a blow to that heart whose love for God only deepened that for man. The discourse he made at his departure overflows with feeling. It ends with these

words : " And let not the dissolution of this poor body of mine sadden you, for I feel that when I shall have laid down the burden of the flesh, I shall by the grace of God be your never-failing helper."

When in later centuries the great Benedictine family became divided into various congregations, there arose in 1621 that of St. Maurus, which acquired such a fame for learning and for piety that the name *Maurist* became synonymous with a man given wholly to God and to study. These descendants of the Cassinese colony brought by St. Maurus to Glanfeuil were the most precious jewels in the crown which merited for St. Benedict the undying gratitude of every student of history.

No one can read the Decalogues of St. Gregory without noticing the habit of the Saint of praying in the open air. Like St. Paul, he was impatient to be dissolved and to be with Christ. This intolerance of earthly bonds lent him wings to fly at will to the firmament where he met his God. The boundless expanse of the sky, its silence, the chaste splendour of the stars attracted him ; they were as the entrance to the infinite oasis of peace which we call Paradise. And only those who have been to Monte Cassino can understand how close God seems brought to the soul that sees around it nothing but the everlasting mountains, and above it that ceiling of earth and floor of heaven.

The dearest links of his life had been broken. Placidus was in Heaven, Maurus in France, and there remained one perhaps dearer still, his sister Scholastica. The story of their last earthly meeting is well known. Three days after, St. Benedict returned home, standing at night in his cell, and looking out of the window, which looks towards the west, she appeared to him in the form of a white dove winging its flight to heaven. " With joy congratulating her heavenly glory, he gave thanks to God in hymns and praises ;" he immediately sent some of his disciples for the holy body. He had already prepared his own tomb, and in it he laid his sister, that so " their bodies might not be separated in death whose hearts had been so united during life."

Forty days only were to elapse when he would be laid beside her, and during that time he foretold the day of his death to some of his disciples. On those at Monte Cassino he

enjoined strict silence; to those who would be absent he gave the sign by which they would know when he had left the world. Six days before his death he had the tomb opened, and immediately after was seized by a fever, which became more and more violent, and on March 21, Holy Saturday as it was that year (543), he had himself carried by his disciples into the oratory of St. John the Baptist. There he received the Viaticum of the Body and Blood of Christ; and there, being supported in the arms of his disciples, "he stood, lifted his hands to Heaven, and with words of prayer breathed forth his soul." And so he died. His death was the death of a saint, but the death also of a Roman. Surrounded by his disciples in life, he was surrounded by them in death, for all looked forward to being around him in heaven:

The very same day, two of his disciples, the one living in the monastery, the other in a place far remote, had a revelation in one and the self-same manner. For they beheld a glorious way, spread with precious garments and lighted with innumerable lamps, stretching forth eastward from his cell up to heaven. A man of venerable aspect stood above, and asked them whose way that was; but they professing that they knew not, "this," saith he, "is the way by which the beloved of God, Benedict, ascended."

St. Benedict was buried near his sister: a small painting in a niche above the spot, by D'Arpinto, represents them in the grave. Thirteen lamps burned day and night around the tomb, and the inscription placed there by the Abbot Della Noce is in these words:

*Benedictum et Scholasticam
Uno in terris partu editos
Uno in Deum pietate cœlo redditos
Unus hic excipit tumulus
Mortalis depositi pro æternitate custos.*

The frontispiece to Tosti's book is a phototype of St. Benedict from a painting by Mazzaroppi. It has these words under it: "In terris positus in cœlestibus habitabat." A tradition runs as follows: In the seventeenth century Marco Mazzaroppi, of Piedmont, who had studied painting in Venice, brought to Monte Cassino some oil paintings of St. Benedict. He related that, not knowing what the Saint was like, he had such a clear vision of him in sleep that he was able to paint

him afterwards exactly as he had seen him. One of these paintings is in the crypt of the Basilica. In the revelations of the Spanish virgin Maria d'Escobar we are told that, having a great devotion to St. Benedict, she longed to know what was his appearance. God gratified her wish, and she gives us the description of what she saw, and, as far as I can remember, it agrees with the picture by Mazzaroppi. An ascetic face, eyes that look on God, a long untrimmed beard, strike one; but the other features are very marked, and make the face one that, once seen, is never forgotten.

But St. Benedict has lived through the succeeding ages. To speak of history, of civilisation, of literature, of art, of the spiritual life, and of apostolic work, is to speak of him. As Tosti says:

Traversing the countries of Europe between the sixth century and the Renaissance, the figure of one man stands forth, who, being all things to all men, is, as he had been at Monte Cassino, a missionary of the faith who brings the barbarians to that *verità che tanto ci sublima*,* transcribes the monuments of Greek and Roman wisdom, weaving his lowly chronicle, provides for the continuity of history; drains marshes, reclaims forests, and with the Latin plough furrows the land and sows the seeds of the political economy of the future; in his abbeys sets up chairs of learning, cradles of the modern universities; enlarges the monastery and expands it into a city. Athlete of faith and justice, he entered as a prophet into courts, purifying their customs, tempering their power, drawing penitent kings to the cloister, investing them with the cowl. In the terrible conflict between divine and human authority, between the priesthood and the empire, at the cry of *salva nos perimus* he raises up in the mystic bark of Peter a legion of Pontiffs, his sons, to grasp the helm and guide it into port. Roman in mind, Christian in heart, he was the strong stay of the human spirit in its struggle after truth.

M. M.

* Dante, "Paradiso," canto xxii. 42.

ART. VIII.—SAINT AUGUSTINE AND THE DONATISTS.

Opera Sancti Augustini, T. ii. et ix. Ed. MIGNE. Paris.
1877.

SEEING the pains that are taken to puzzle well-meaning Anglicans as to the nature and consequences of Schism, we thought St. Augustine's contest with the Donatists might be a useful object-lesson. Nearly all his writings against them are contained in the two tomes of his works placed at the head of this article; but the following brief account of them is taken from his work, *De Hæresibus*, lxix.

The Donatists are those who first made a schism because Cecilian was ordained Bishop of Carthage against their will, objecting to him unproved crimes and especially his ordination by *traditors*; and then, when the cause was heard and their falsehoods exposed, pertinaciously adhered to their dissension and turned the schism into a heresy, pretending that the Church of Christ had for the crimes of Cecilian perished in the whole world, to which it had been promised, and was now to be found only in Africa, being extinct everywhere else by the contagion of communion; and to confirm still more their heresy they dare to rebaptize even Catholics.

The sentence here alluded to was pronounced at Rome in 313 by Pope Melchiades, and renewed in the great Council of Arles in 314, in order to leave the factionists no possible excuse. But it was all in vain; for a whole century, nearly every diocese in Africa had two bishops, a Catholic and a Donatist. In every thing, except the two or three above-mentioned heresies, they were undistinguishable from the Catholics; they had valid orders, a hierarchy of over four hundred bishops, the celibacy of the clergy, the Mass, and the seven sacraments, relics, invocation of saints, confession, fast and abstinence, &c.

St. Augustine became Bishop of Hippo in 396, and was more or less occupied with this sect for the rest of his life; we have, therefore, ample materials for learning what he thought of it. He treats it chiefly as a Schism, and to this aspect of it we shall for the present confine our attention. We must bear carefully

in mind that in all this controversy he is dealing with *formal* Schism, not with mere *material* Schism like the Schism of Antioch in his own time, or the great Schism of the West in after ages—1378 to 1417. He takes no pains to give a strict definition of schism, but his definition is quite plainly implied throughout the whole controversy; thus he says to Gaudentius (ii. 10): “Cum et Schismaticus sis sacrilegâ discessionê, et hæreticus sacrilego dogmate.”*

The great Donatist schism produced from time to time several minor ones which St. Augustine calls “fractions of a fraction,” saying that it is the nature of sects to melt away in that manner (*c. Parmen. i. 9*). The great original *fraction* called these offshoots sacrilegious Schisms (*c. Crescon. iii. 59*), while they indignantly rejected the title from themselves. This absurd notion St. Augustine constantly ridicules. Thus (*c. Crescon. iv. 7, 9*):

Will you then say that Maximianus made a schism from your communion, but that Donatus did not make one from the Catholic Communion? . . . It is then manifest that they made a schism from your communion, but you will not admit that your own separation from the Catholic communion was a schism; how to explain this most vain and spiteful impudence I am utterly at a loss.

And again to Crispinus (Ep. 51):

Remember the charge of sacrilegious schism so vehemently urged against the Maximianists by your council . . . and then tell us what excuse you can offer for the far greater crime of schism from the whole world.

Not only did they refuse to be called Schismatics, but they claimed the title of Catholic, and even held themselves to be the only true Catholics left in the world. These lofty pretensions they grounded on the plea that their separation was not only justifiable but imperative, as it was impossible for them to remain in communion with corrupt churches stained by public and unpunished crimes, and above all, by the crimes of *traitors*†

St. Augustine refuted in the greatest detail all the special accusations of the faction; but he went farther and declared

* We may here remark that his principal adversaries in this controversy were the four bishops, Parmenian, Petilian, Emeritus, and Gaudentius; and the grammarian Cresconius.

† *Traitors* were those who had delivered up the sacred books during the late persecution of Diocletian.

that there could be no possible excuse for a separation from the Catholic Church, and to this general principle we shall here confine ourselves. The Donatists were famous for absurd applications of scripture texts, but St. Augustine takes pains to unravel even their most ridiculous arguments for the sake of their deluded followers: thus, when Parmenian abuses the text (John ix.), *Sinners, God will not hear*, he turns on him, and proves that its true sense was just the very opposite to that alleged, "and that there could be no possible reason for separating men by a nefarious Schism" (c. Parmen. ii. 15). Again he says (*id.* 25): "These texts of Holy Scripture we produce to show that nothing can exceed the crime of Schism, because there can be no just necessity for destroying unity." Again (*id.* iii. 28), he winds up a long argument against another absurd application of a text of scripture by saying: "Let us, therefore, hold as certain and incontestable, that no good men can separate themselves from her (the church)." Again (*id.* iii. 24): "Qua propter securus judicat orbis terrarum, bonos non esse qui se dividunt ab orbe terrarum in quacumque parte terrarum." Writing to Vincent the Rogatist he says (Ep. xciii. 25, 28):

What we say to all Donatists we say still more to you; if any persons can have, *which is impossible*, a just cause for separating their communion from the communion of the whole world, and calling it the Church of Christ on the plea that they had justly separated themselves from the communion of all nations, &c. . . . But we are certain that no one can separate himself *justly* from the communion of all nations, because none of us looks for the Church in his own justice, but in the Divine Scriptures, &c.

And then he gives nearly all the promises made to the Church in the Old and New Testaments.

Whatever question may be raised about any of these passages, we do not see how it is possible, in presence of their combined force, to have any doubt as to St. Augustine's opinion regarding the possibility of a *lawful schism* or separation from the Universal Church. But Anglicans ask, how do we know that he means the Roman Catholic Church? Well, he certainly means the church to which he professed to belong himself, and in recent numbers of this REVIEW (July 1890-1891) we have indirectly shown that this was certainly the

Catholic Church in communion with the Roman Pontiff.* But to meet every scruple of our Anglican friends, we shall endeavour to remove all room for doubt. That in this controversy he means one and the same church from first to last, is quite manifest; and this church he calls indifferently *Ecclesia Catholica*, *Ecclesia Universalis*, *Orbis terrarum*, *Unitas Catholica*, *Unitas orbis terrarum*, *Ecclesia*, or simply *Catholica*. His adversaries never asked what he meant by these terms; they knew only too well that he meant the Church which they had left—the Catholic Church in communion with the Apostolic See. They occasionally questioned his right to take the term *Catholic* of the Creed in the sense he did, but never doubted what his sense was. Thus, in answer to one of these quibbles, he says (*c. Petil. ii. 91*):

Although indeed I know little or nothing of Greek,† I can without presumption assert that *ολον* does not mean *one*, but *the whole*; and that *καθ'ολον* means *everywhere* (*secundum totum*): whence the Catholic Church has received its name, according to the words of the Lord (*Acts i.*), *you shall be witnesses to me in Jerusalem and all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth.*

This was said in 402, and yet in 420 another champion of the sect repeats the same quibble (*c. Gauden. ii. 2*), but is not let off so easily. Augustine says to him: “If you knew all this why did you dissemble; if you did not, why did you not ask those who did?” At the Conference of Carthage they pretended that the term *Catholic* meant the plenitude of the Sacraments, not the plenitude of the nations (*Brev. Coll. 3tio. die. 4*); for they knew well that this single word contained the whole argument against them. And in point of fact St. Augustine only repeats in a thousand forms this one argument; the Church of Christ was to be Catholic; you are not Catholic, therefore you are not the Church of Christ. Thus he says (*Ep. 44*): “Which is the true Church, that which is spread throughout all nations, in accordance with the prophecies, or that which is confined to a part of Africa?” Again (*c. Petil. ii. 30*): “As the word of God tells us of Paradise, so does it tell us where to find the Church, namely, *in all nations*;

* In the article for July 1890, on page 97, there are two typographical errors, viz., cxxxvi. for clxxxvi. and vi. 27 for vi. 37.

† This was in 402, very early in his career; in his later works he is quite at home in Greek.

but you are only in the sect of Donatus." Again (*id.* 35): "If nothing can be truer than the Word of Christ, which says that His Church is *in all nations*, what can be more untrue than your word that it is confined to the sect of Donatus?" And again (*id.* 164): "The question between us is, where is the Church? . . . Christ says, *in all nations*; and you who do not communicate with all nations, where this has been accomplished, how can you be His sheep?" Such are the passages one meets on almost every page of his anti-Donatist writings.

Yes, there can be no doubt that he always means the *Catholic Church*; but did he mean exclusively the Roman Catholic Church? Well, every one knows that Catholicity implies unity, and that permanent unity implies a centre and a principle of unity; did Augustine realise this idea? His writings are saturated with it, and his constant attitude towards the Apostolic See proves clearly where he placed the centre of unity. Hence, although the name of the Roman Pontiff was odious to the Donatists, and controversial policy would seem to counsel its omission, he never allows them to imagine that the Catholic Church and her visible head can be separated in his mind. His very first appeal to them was a popular ballad in twenty-one stanzas (*Psalmus cont. Partem Donati*): the eighteenth stanza runs thus: *

Scitis Catholica quid sit, et quid sit præcisum a vite :
Si qui sunt inter vos cauti, veniant, vivant de radice ;
Antequam nimis arescant, jam liberentur ab igne.

* * * * *

Sed quid illi prodest forma, si non vivit de radice ?
Venite, fratres, si vultis ut inseramini in vite :

* Our readers will excuse the following rough translation, as it faithfully renders the sense:

The Church Catholic you know of,
And also what has been lopped off :
Let those among you who are prudent,
Come and sap draw from the root,
And avoid the fire that burneth,
While as yet some life remains.

* * * * *

Brethren come and be engrafted,
If you will it, in the vine :
It grieves us much to see you prostrate,
And cut off from sap and life—
Count the Priests from Peter downwards,

Dolor est cum vos videmus præcisos ita jacere.

Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsâ Petri Sede;

Et in ordine illo patrum quis cui successit, videte:

Ipsa est petra quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ.

Having in the previous stanzas given the history and consequences of the Schism, he comes to the practical conclusion in this, and what is it? That if they wish to save their souls and avoid the fire of hell, they must at once quit the Schism and be united to the Catholic Church and the See of Peter, *the rock against which the gates of hell cannot prevail* (Matt. xvi.).

Again, in a work published against the Manicheans three or four years later, and well known to the Donatists, he says (c. Epis. Fund. 5): "I am also held (in the Catholic Church) by the succession of priests to this day in the See of Peter, to whom the Lord committed the care of His sheep."

Petilian, the Donatist bishop of Cirta, the capital of Numidia, wishing to bring over to his sect a Catholic named Generosus, sent him a list of the succession of bishops in his see; this letter was laid before St. Augustine, and in his answer to Generosus, which was to be communicated to Petilian, he deals thus with the local succession argument:

If it be a question of the succession of bishops, the surest way is to count from Peter himself to whom, as representing the whole Church, the Lord says, *on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her* (Matt. xvi.). To Peter succeeded Linus, to Linus Clement, to Clement Anacletus, to Anacletus Evaristus, to Evaristus Alexander, to Alexander Sixtus, to Sixtus Telesphorus, to Telesphorus Hyginus, to Hyginus Anicetus, to Anicetus Pius, to Pius Soter, to Soter Eleutherius, to Eleutherius Victor, to Victor Zephyrinus, to Zephyrinus Calixtus, to Calixtus Urbanus, to Urbanus Pontianus, to Pontianus Antherus, to Antherus Fabianus, to Fabianus Cornelius, to Cornelius Lucius, to Lucius Stephen, to Stephen Sixtus, to Sixtus Dionisius, to Dionisius Felix, to Felix Eutichianus, to Eutichianus Caius, to Caius Marcellinus, to Marcellinus Eusebius, to Eusebius Melchiades, to Melchiades Sylvester, to Sylvester Marcus, to Marcus Julius, to Julius Liberius, to Liberius Damasus, to Damasus Siricius, to Siricius Anastasius . . . who now occupies the same See. In this order of succession no Donatist bishop is found (Ep. 53).

Who have occupied his chair;
Closely look to their succession,
And be sure that all are there:
It is the rock not to be shaken,
By all the powers stored up in Hell.

In a friendly letter (Ep. xliii. 7) to certain Donatist gentlemen he says :

The Bishop of Carthage could afford to despise all his enemies, seeing himself in communion with the Roman Church in which the primacy (*principatus*) of the Apostolic See has always flourished; and with the other lands from which the Gospel has come to Africa herself.

It is manifest from the circumstances of the time that this "communion with the other lands" was through Rome, the centre of unity, and, indeed, St. Augustine reminds the Donatist Cresconius that the Eastern Churches never held communications with Carthage except through the Bishop of Rome (*c. Crescon. iii. 38*).

What is the inevitable conclusion from all this? Why, that it was made impossible for the Donatists to have any doubt as to St. Augustine's doctrine regarding the position of the Roman Pontiff in the Church, or to imagine that he ever thought or spoke of the Catholic Church apart from its centre of unity. Therefore, whenever he speaks of the Catholic Church he means the Roman Catholic Church, that is, the Church spread throughout all nations and in communion with Rome.

But what is all this to the present generation of Donatists? They did not make the Schism; they were born in it, and it is the church of their baptism. St. Augustine answers (*c. Petil. iii. 6*) :

Let no one say, I follow him because he baptized me. . . . For, no one preaching the name of Christ or administering the Sacrament of Christ, is to be followed against the unity of Christ.

Yes, he bewailed their lot in the bitterness of his soul, and left no means untried to facilitate their escape from the Schism by *corporate reunion*, but having failed in this he incessantly reminds them that their present state is a state of sin and sacrilege, for both pastors and people. Thus he says (*c. Petil. ii. 221*) :

That you are all guilty we prove, not from other men's crimes, but from your own crime of Schism, from which most grievous sin none of you can consider himself exempt as long as he does not communicate with the unity of all nations.

Again, in a letter addressed to the whole body of the

Donatists and signed by the bishops of Numidia, he says (Ep. 141, n. 5) :

And now, therefore, take heed that whoever is separated from this Catholic Church, no matter how well he may think himself to live, shall not have eternal life but the wrath of God for this single crime of separation from the unity of Christ.

Again (De Baptis. c. Donat. i. 10) : “ Therefore, those whom they (the Schismatics) baptize, are indeed cured of the wound of idolatry and infidelity ; but they are more grievously stricken by the wound of Schism.” Speaking at Cæ-area in presence of the celebrated Donatist bishop Emeritus, he says (Serm. ad Cæsar. 6) :

Outside the Catholic Church he can have everything except salvation. . . . But, should the enemy of Christ say to him, offer incense to the idols, adore my gods, and he for refusing should be slain ; he could shed his blood, but he could not receive the crown.

After this we need not wonder at his denunciations of the Donatist clergy whom he regarded as the most guilty agents in this wholesale ruin of souls. Thus he says (c. Parmen. ii 25) : “ These texts of sacred scripture I have cited, to make it plain that nothing can be more grievous than the sacrilege of Schism.” And again (c. Petil. ii. 30) : “ Therefore, whoever draws away any one from the Universal Church to any sect, is a murderer and a child of Satan.” Again (*id.* 164) : “ Whoever then draw away men from this fold, are but ravening wolves who separate them from the life of charity and unity.”

But why multiply such extracts ? Any one who looks over the second tome named at the head of this article (T. ix.), can see them scattered thick as hail. We may therefore turn our attention to some of the other consequences of the Schism. One of these was, that it placed an insuperable obstacle to the full effect even of those sacraments which the Donatist clergy could administer *validly* though *illicitly*. In his work *De Baptismo contra Donatistas* i. 18, St. Augustine thus concludes a long argument :

So, too, that enemy of the charity and peace of Christ who receives baptism in some heresy or schism, obtains no remission of his sins by this sacrilegious crime ; but, when he corrects himself and comes into the unity and communion of the Church, though he cannot be rebaptized, the sacrament which when received in schism could not profit him, will

now begin to avail unto the remission of his sins, by virtue of this very peace and reconciliation.*

This doctrine he constantly applies to baptism, which was a main subject of controversy with the Donatists; but he applies it also to the two other sacraments that impress a permanent character. Thus he says (*c. Petil. ii. 239*):

In this unction you wish to see the sacrament of Chrism, which among visible signs is most holy like baptism itself; but remember it may be in the very worst men. . . . Learn then to distinguish between the visible sacrament—which may be in the good or in the bad, in the former unto merit, in the latter unto judgment—and the invisible unction of charity which is peculiar to the good.

Regarding the Sacrament of Order he says (*c. Parmen. ii. 28*):

Some of them [the Donatists], overcome by the force of truth, have begun to say, that indeed baptism is not lost by separation, but that the right to administer it is lost: this is a vain distinction. . . . For both are sacraments, both are given by a certain consecration, one in baptism the other in ordination, and therefore in the Catholic Church neither can be repeated. . . . Hence even when bishops come over, and for the good of peace are sometimes retained in their functions, they are not re-ordained . . . but what was criminal in the separation is corrected by the union.

These passages need very little comment; it is manifest that he regarded these three sacraments as valid when administered by Donatists, but that they remained suspended as to the effects connected with sanctifying grace, for the simple reason that charity or sanctifying grace is incompatible with a state of sin like that of Schism. All this he constantly asserts in connection with such passages as those already given.

Of course the principle that grace cannot co-exist with sin applies to all the sacraments; but St. Augustine adds another

* After the Conference of Carthage—A. D. 411—the Donatists began to come over in great numbers; and the leaders, seeing that they were not put among the public penitents, pretended that by this the Catholics recognised all that was done by the Donatists. Augustine answers (*Ep. clxxxv. 42*): “Ac per hoc nemo potest esse justus quamdiu fuerit ab unitate hujus corporis separatus . . . Imo nisi egeris (pœnitentiam) salvus esse non poteris.”

But those who had once been Catholics had to do public penance: and when the faithful complained that they could not be trusted, he answers (*Serm. cxcvii. 12*): “Ecce et huic timori vestro consulitur; in pœnitentiam admittuntur. Erunt in pœnitentia quando voluerint reconciliari, jam nemine cogente, nemine terrente. . . . Quis illum cogit petere reconciliationis locum, nisi voluntas propria?”

reason applicable to the Sacrament of Penance. No one ever realised more fully than he did the doctrine contained in these words of our Lord (John xiv.-xx.): "*I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may abide with you for ever. Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye shall forgive they are forgiven.*" His comments on the first of these texts in his explanations of the Creed and in his Pentecost sermons contain some most beautiful passages on the relations of the Holy Ghost to the Church; but our present concern is with the second text and the power there given of remitting sins. That this power, whether exercised by baptism or by absolution, depends on the special presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church, St. Augustine proves in a special dissertation (Serm. 71) on the text, "*he that speaks against the Holy Ghost, &c.*" (Matt. xii.). On account of the discipline of the secret, he speaks more openly about baptism, but he refers to absolution also clearly enough for the faithful (n. 6, 7, 23, 28, 37). His conclusions on our present subject are thus expressed (n. 33, 37):

Which things being so, as the remission of sins is given only in the Holy Ghost, it can be given only in that church which has the Holy Ghost. . . . And thus is said *the word against the Holy Ghost*, when those who are separated never return to the society that has received the Holy Ghost for the remission of sins. Whoever with a sincere heart comes to this society, even through an unworthy clergyman but still a Catholic minister, obtains the remission of his sins by the Holy Ghost himself who so operates in holy Church as to despise no one's sincere confession.

As this last paragraph regards only the members of Christian sects with valid baptism, it is manifest that there is question only of the reconciliation by Penance. Remark also how he requires not merely an ordained clergyman, but a *Catholic minister*; for mere ordination could not give the *jurisdiction* required for a judicial act; this should come in some way from the Church herself. It was confined at first to the bishop, and delegated only very gradually and very sparingly as the numbers of the Christian people increased. Of course no Donatist priest could as such be a *Catholic minister* of the sacrament. St. Augustine publicly conferred jurisdiction on the priest Heraclius (Ep. ccxiii. 5, 6), passing over other priests who were his seniors in the ministry. That the African bishops looked carefully

to this point is quite clear from Canon 6 of the *Codex Canonum* drawn up by the Council of Carthage, of the year 419; and from Canon 30 of the Council of Hippo, in 393, at which St. Augustine was present, and exerted very great influence, having been specially consulted, although then only a priest, by the Primate Aurelius of Carthage (Ep. 22).

St. Augustine has preserved a curious Donatist argument which runs thus (De Baptismo cont. Donat. i. 15):

They ask whether sins are remitted by baptism in the Donatist Communion; in order that if we say Yes, they may be able to reply that therefore the Holy Ghost is there, since the Lord when giving Him to the disciples, breathing on them said, *baptize the nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost* (Matt. xxviii.); *whose sins you shall remit they are remitted, whose sins you shall retain, they are retained* (John xx.). If this be so, say they, our communion is the Church of Christ, for outside the Church the Holy Ghost does not remit sins. But if our communion is the Church of Christ, your communion is not, for she is *one* wherever she is; there cannot be as many churches as Schisms. But if we say that sins are not remitted there, they reply that therefore true baptism is not there, and we ought to baptize our converts from them; but by not doing so we confess that we do not belong to the Church of Christ.

This argument proves one thing at least, namely, that the Donatists had no more idea of the Branch theory than St. Augustine himself. In his answer he cites the case of Simon Magus (Acts viii.) to show how Baptism could be valid and at the same time *informis* or without grace. In a previous paragraph (n. 3) he says:

Therefore we do not say to them, do not give it (baptism), but do not give it in Schism; nor do we say to the recipients, do not receive it, but do not receive it in Schism. For should any one who intends to receive it in Catholic unity, find himself in extreme necessity, having no Catholic present, and receive it from some one not in Catholic unity, while preserving Catholic peace in his own heart; we regard him as a Catholic should death immediately follow.

Of course this meets the case of Donatists baptized in infancy; they were Catholics until, by a voluntary act, on arriving at the use of reason, they became *formal* schismatics, and thereby lost the grace though not the *character* of Baptism.

The following passage from the same work (i. 12) describes another effect of the Schism:

See how many and how great things may avail nothing for want of some one thing, and what is that one thing? Hear it from the Apostle, not from me: *If I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, &c.* (1 Cor. xiii.). What then could it profit them to speak with the tongues of angels in the sacred mysteries, to prophesy like Saul or Caiphas, not only to know but to have the sacraments like Simon Magus, to have faith like the demons who confessed Christ, to distribute their substance to the poor as is done even in many heresies, even to deliver their bodies to the flames for the faith in times of persecution; as they do all this in a state of separation, *not seeking to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace* (Ephes. iv.), they cannot attain to eternal life.

For the convenience of reference, we have taken our extracts from the two tomes named at the head of our article, and very sparingly even from these; but we can assure the reader who may wish to pursue the matter farther, that we have only touched the fringe of the subject, and that he will find not only in these tomes, but also in the Saint's other works, an inexhaustible mine to draw from. However, we feel confident that from the foregoing extracts a sure judgment can be formed as to St. Augustine's teaching, which may be summed up in the following propositions:—

1. Schism, wilful, formal Schism, is a separation from the Catholic Church in communion with the Roman See.
2. No possible circumstance or combination of circumstances can justify or excuse such a Schism.
3. Schism is a most grievous sin.
4. A state of Schism, though only inherited, is a state of damnation.
5. In a state of Schism no sacrament can produce effects of sanctifying grace.
6. There are, moreover, special reasons why no absolution from sins can be valid in a Schismatical body.
7. There can be no real and perfect merit for even the most heroic works performed in a state of Schism.
8. The Donatists, with their valid orders, great hierarchy, and unbroken succession of bishops, were notorious and unmitigated Schismatics.
9. Their unbroken succession availed them nothing since their separation from the Apostolic See, and was merely *material* from that date.

10. There can be no such thing as communion with the Catholic Church without communion with the Roman Pontiff.

Whatever may be thought of these propositions in the abstract, we do not see how any one can doubt that they represent the teaching of St. Augustine. And now, to return to our Anglican friends, what have they got to say to this? Will they accept or reject St. Augustine. If they reject him, they retract all that they have been saying about his Anti-Roman spirit, and his championship of national churches; if they accept him, how shall they calm the consciences of those who fear the Anglican Church, is at least a Schism?

Some Anglicans cut the matter short by denying the parity between themselves and the Donatists, "whose great crime was their arrogant pretension that they were the only true Church of Christ." But any one can see that in St. Augustine's eyes their great crime was the Schism, and that this "arrogant pretension" was chiefly a matter of ridicule.

There is a small party of Anglicans that teaches Catholic doctrine, claims for their church valid orders and jurisdiction, and adopts most of the externals of Catholic worship; they always speak as if their church resembled themselves, whereas it is only prevented by legal difficulties from utterly exterminating them as heretics. We cannot, therefore, take them as representing their church; yet, as they are the inventors of several devices for eluding the force of St. Augustine's teaching, we cannot avoid noticing their theories. First among these comes the great Branch Theory, by which they seem to mean that all Episcopal Churches, especially the Latin, Greek, and Anglican, are branches of the Catholic Church. What a world of trouble this bright idea would have saved St. Augustine; but unfortunately it never occurred to him, although few things worth thinking of escaped his notice. But, in any case, he never could have reconciled the Donatists to such a monstrosity as a Catholic Church consisting of separate sects or Schisms. And now, if he never thought of such a thing for the Donatists, who came so near the Catholic Church, is there any chance that he would think of it for Anglicans who are so immeasurably distant?

Another device of these men is to advise their followers to

hope and wait for better days, the coming days of *corporate reunion*. Well, no one ever laboured harder than St. Augustine for corporate reunion, but while doing so he warned every individual Donatist to consult immediately for his own salvation by abandoning the Schism.

Another advice often given is "to wait patiently, like the Catholics of Antioch, who had to live in a state of Schism for many years, until God in His own good time delivered them." But the Schism of Antioch was *material*, not *formal*; neither party was outside the pale of *Catholic* communion; neither party rejected the communion of the Roman Pontiff, but on the contrary all eagerly claimed it, as we learn from St. Jerome, in two most pathetic letters written to Pope Damasus (Ep. xv. xvi., T. i. Ed. Migne). Hence there were saints at both sides. We are not counting, of course, the Arian or other heretical bishops. It was altogether a case of disputed election to the See; the Pope could not acknowledge two bishops in the same See, and hence one was necessarily unrecognised and out of *ecclesiastical* communion. What parity can any one pretend to find between this state of things and that which exists in the Anglican Church? The Donatists never sought support from this Schism, nor did it seek any from them. Nor did St. Augustine, the arch-enemy of Schisms, ever think it worth his while to attack Lucifer of Cagliari for his share in this Schism, although he severely condemns him for the subsequent Schism of the Luciferians which formally broke with the Bishop of Rome (Ep. clxxxv. 47).

"The original constitution of the Church" is another formula which is made to do duty in various ways, although this constitution no longer exists; that is, Patriarchs, Metropolitans, and Provincial Synods no longer possess the extensive jurisdiction they once exercised; "owing to the usurpations of the astute Bishop of Rome." We always thought the original constitution of the Church was its government by Bishops with a supreme visible head and centre of unity; and that the great enemies of the other "original constitution" were the Court Bishops of Constantinople, not the Bishop of Rome. But let that pass. A typical Anglican thus describes this "original constitution" (*Tablet*, March 26, 1892):

I shall say then that our Lord gave the plenitude of spiritual jurisdiction to the Apostles, probably but not certainly reserving to St. Peter a personal leadership; that the Apostles associated others with themselves in this jurisdiction; that within a few years, by an Apostolic enactment, of which there is no record extant, but which must be assumed on a well-known principle enunciated by St. Augustine, the exercise of this jurisdiction was limited by geographical bounds, so that each possessor of it had a defined sphere with the title of bishop; that as for certain purposes combined action of bishops was necessary, a grouping of dioceses was called for *ex necessitate rei*; that this grouping conveniently followed the civil divisions of the empire, and so the provincial system arose, and became established as the normal organisation of the spiritual kingdom; that wider groupings were at times found convenient, and so patriarchates had their rise; that when once a diocese is by customary law attached to such a group, the bishop thereof cannot, without the gravest peril, break loose from it, especially as from the other members of the group (ordinarily represented by the metropolitan) he received his apostolic jurisdiction; that within such a defined sphere of spiritual jurisdiction, no external authority may ordinarily interfere; that there is a body of doctrine—the Catholic faith, and of disciplinary institutions—the fundamental principles of Canon Law, which no local authority can vary or abrogate; but that subject to this limitation, the episcopate of each province enjoys the plenitude of Apostolic authority to bind and loose.

This is as good as Darwin's "Genesis of Species," and reminds one of Topsy's account of herself in "Uncle Tom's Cabin": "She wasn't made at all; she growed." In this imaginary account, there is no allusion to the one power whose action or consent could impart validity or life to the system. It is very like the artificial man that had everything but the breath of life. How heartily St. Augustine would have enjoyed it we may infer from the quiet humour with which, in his letter to Generosus, he disposed of Petilian's pretensions to jurisdiction without any connection with Rome. We have related elsewhere how the Bishops of his native Numidia informed Pope Gregory the Great, that the very peculiar constitution of their church had come down from the days of St. Peter himself; which could only mean that St. Peter sent the first bishop to Carthage with power to establish a hierarchy, just as he sent St. Mark to Alexandria. It is a remarkable fact, that the extent of the power exercised by the Bishop of Carthage as Primate of Africa was nearly the same as that exercised by the Patriarch of Alexandria, and was much greater than that exercised by

the Patriarch of Antioch ; this arose probably from the fact that Peter during his long stay at Antioch had fully organised those regions and invested their numerous metropolitans with those rights which afterwards restricted the power of their Patriarch.* This account is intelligible, both historically and canonically ; it is in accordance with the known practice of the Popes, not only during the ages of persecution, but for many ages after, while communication remained slow and difficult. The first Apostles of England, Ireland, Germany, &c., all went forth with power from Rome not only to preach the Gospel but to establish national hierachies. If then our Anglican friend will only add the *action* or *consent* of Peter and his successors, we shall think his sketch admirable ; if not, we can only class it with the theories of Darwin or Topsy. How, for instance, can he explain the formation of the hierarchy in Egypt, where there was only one bishop, the Bishop of Alexandria, for generations after St. Mark ? Either St. Mark's commission from Peter included the power to establish a hierarchy, and passed on to his successors ; or some one of Peter's successors conferred this power on some successor of St. Mark. Jurisdiction, even in civil matters, cannot be assumed at will ; it must come from some competent authority. The single point, limitation of jurisdiction, for which St. Augustine's *dictum* is quoted, may be readily admitted ; but for this writer's general position his name cannot be used. But, this word *limitation* is fatal to the theory advanced ; for, even supposing the Apostles had left their jurisdiction, as here described, in the regions visited by themselves, how was it to be communicated to the rest of the world ? For this, some one's jurisdiction should be permanently *unlimited* ; who was that to be ? The African bishops at all events knew who it was ; when, during the long Vandal persecution, the jurisdiction of their Primate had been lost or at least confused, he applied to Pope Gregory the Great for its renewal. Our Anglican friends could have taught him a simpler plan, namely to apply to the provincial synod ; since, quite independently of Rome, "the episcopate

* If this "original constitution" was a mere "growth" how was it so different in different places ? It would take Darwin himself to explain this ; for, his "survival of the fittest" will hardly meet the case. The only intelligible explanation is, that there was some presiding authority that arranged the matter according to the needs and circumstances of each region.

of each province enjoys the plenitude of apostolic authority to bind and loose."

But this is not all; here is the very next sentence of this strange epistle. "If this be the divinely ordered Constitution of the Church, of course the Providence of God will secure the accomplishment by these means of all the purposes for which the Church exists." What is the use of reasoning with one who can thus, in the same breath, call his system a growth of circumstances and a divine institution? Then, he professes to speak for the Church of England; but the Church of England is practically unanimous in accusing the Bishop of Rome of having gradually destroyed the "Original Constitution of the Church." Therefore, for the Church of England it no longer exists. Yet this *non-existing* Constitution is still made to do wonderful things; it validates the strange elections of Anglican bishops, it gives them jurisdiction, it makes them successors of the Apostles. This "original constitution" existed in full force in St. Augustine's day; under it he received all his powers; but, when the poor Donatists acted on it, he utterly denied their claim to be regarded as true bishops with episcopal rights and jurisdiction. And yet he never doubted the validity of their orders, and had very little to complain of in their doctrine. The contrast with the Church of England in these respects is manifest to every one.

But, may not this "original constitution" exist still *de jure*? And if so, may not the Anglican bishops act under it? Well, they *do not* act under it; they act under the Crown. But the Crown had no right to abolish the "Original Constitution of the Church?" Well, every one knows it did not abolish it; for it had ceased to be in use here centuries before the Reformation. What it did abolish was the *real* original and divine Constitution of the Church. But suppose, *per impossibile*, that the whole Bench of Bishops took it into their heads to act fully on this "Original Constitution," they must begin by proving that it ever existed *de jure* without the consent of Peter and his successors. We know that a distinguished writer, thought to be one of themselves, dispensed them from this little formality, and even quotes St. Augustine to calm their consciences (*Church Quarterly Review*, July 1887, p. 262):

We for our part believe it probable that St. Augustine in our circumstances would accept our ecclesiastical position. . . . He never had to face the condition of things which now exists, a contradiction between the doctrine of Rome and the doctrine of Scripture.

The insinuation that the Donatist controversy was not a Scriptural one has no foundation whatever, for never was there a sect or Schism that relied more on Scripture *versus* Rome; nor was there ever one that was more categorically refuted. With this exception, the plea here put forward is more plausible and straightforward than those we have been dealing with; yet, we confidently leave it to the judgment of our readers, merely observing that it is an appeal from what St. Augustine *did* to what he *might do*, were he now alive.

St. Augustine often accuses the Donatists of raising false or irrelevant issues in order to obscure the question (Ep. 141, Brev. Collat., &c.); and on one occasion he says of them, *Nihil aliud magnis viribus agentes nisi ut Nihil ageretur*. Anglicans seem to follow pretty much the same system, although we should be sorry to accuse them of acting from the same motive. But still the fact is quite patent to every one. The all-important question is about actual concrete Schism; and they turn off to discuss such quibbles as mutual recognition, visible facts, aggregate of churches, test of communion, easily ascertainable guarantee, unity of life, &c.: and all clearly tending to produce the impression that schism is not schism, or at least that it is impossible to tell what is or what is not schism at present, and that therefore schism can be really no sin, or at most only a very venial sin. We know these gentleman give very good definitions of Schism in the abstract, but the tendency of their teaching in the concrete is to produce the above-mentioned impressions, however good may be their own intentions. Let us examine a few of these formulas which we find ready to our hand in the letters of our typical Anglican, addressed to the *Tablet* during the controversy about the Stroud Green Catechism in the first months of last year; he candidly tells us (March 26) that they represent the ideas current in his party.

"The aggregate of churches" means at least the Latin, Greek, and Anglican churches; and the chief "visible fact" is the refusal of this "aggregate" to admit the Papal claims.

(February 27, March 12 and 26). The theory is that until "the aggregate of churches" speaks with a united voice, we can have no authoritative decision on pending questions, and especially on the Papal claims. What a fine start this doctrine would have given to Pelagianism, but fortunately it was not the doctrine of St. Augustine. Soon after the appearance of the heresy in Africa his friends, Aurelius of Carthage and the Primate of Numidia, call provincial synods; their synodical letters are sent on at once to Rome; he supplements them by a confidential letter signed by himself and his friends, Aurelius of Carthage, Alypius of Tagaste, Evodius of Usala, and Possidius of Calama (Ep. 177); answers are received in due course from Pope Innocent; and then Augustine, preaching soon after at Carthage at the tomb of St. Cyprian, says (Serm. cxxxi. 10): "The deliberations of two councils were sent to the Apostolic See; rescripts have thence arrived; the cause is ended."

The unity of life [Feb. 13] consists of the baptismal grace given to all, the grace of order, the continued use of the sacraments, and the unity of the Apostolic rule of the Episcopate throughout the world. . . . It causes Rome, Constantinople, and Canterbury to be still one with a real unity.

Surely, on this principle the Donatists and the Catholics were still one with a "real unity;" and no language can be too strong to condemn the barefaced uncharitableness of St. Augustine in denying the grace of their sacraments, the jurisdiction of their bishops, and their chance of life eternal. We know it is pretended that all this was because they erected altar against altar in *their own country*; but the very essence of their Schism, in his estimation, was their separation from the *orbis terrarum*, and "their blaspheming of the Apostolic See with which they did not communicate" (c. Petil. ii. 118, 162). Hence, he hardly ever alludes to their separation from the Catholic Primate, the Bishop of Carthage, or from their local Catholic bishops; he hammers away incessantly at the one point, their separation from the *unity of all nations* and from Peter's successors; although of course it was only through the local Catholic bishops they could be in communion with Rome. He knew nothing about those subtle distinctions by which

Anglicans make out English Catholics to be only "Papists" and Schismatics.

"What easily ascertainable guarantee have we that the persons claiming to exercise Apostolic authority are really possessed of it?" This is the question which our typical Anglican proposes to himself, and certainly his answers (March 26) are a curiosity; *fruits of righteousness* and *mutual recognition* are his only tests. The first he considers "of enormous moral weight," but not very practical; on the second he asks immortal souls to stake their all. We shall examine it just now; but cannot resist the temptation of first asking ourselves what test St. Augustine would apply, if he found himself in some strange city with two rival bishops. He would certainly apply the test which his friend St. Jerome applied at Antioch, and would simply ask which is the Catholic bishop in communion with Rome? There were two bishops at Circa, and we saw how quickly he disposed of the pretensions of one of them, Petilian, by the simple test of Papal communion. Being asked why he remained in the Catholic Church he winds up by saying (*c. Epist. Fund. 5*):

And there are many other things which most justly retain me in her bosom; the consent of peoples and nations retains me; . . . I am retained by the succession of priests, down to the present Episcopate, from the very See of the Apostle Peter, to whom the Lord committed the care of His flock; finally, I am retained by the very name *Catholic*, which that Church alone has obtained, not without reason, among so many heresies; so that, although all heretics wish to be called Catholics, if a stranger asks for the Catholic Church, not one of them will dare to show him his own conventicle.

To this our Anglican friends reply (Feb. 13): "This was an admirable test for Augustine's time, but since the times of Cerularius at least it has been inoperative." Well, if so it was inoperative long before Augustine's time, and it was a great mistake for him to have applied it at all. In his work "On Heresies" he enumerates about eighty-seven sects; many of these existed in his own time and had fully organised hierarchies; the Donatists alone had several distinct hierarchies, one of which numbered about four hundred bishops, that is more than all the Greeks and Russians together; and yet in face of all this he never hesitates to apply his tests—Catholicity and Papal Communion.

But it is time to return to our puzzle, "mutual recognition." We candidly admit that we can hardly make out what it means; all we can infer from the explanation given is that it ensures the jurisdiction of bishops; that it may consist of any occasional and even rare civilities exchanged between the heads of very distinct communions; that the more distinct they are the better; and that in fine it does away with Schism altogether. As illustrations we have the recent civilities between Canterbury and Kieff, with a few others, and the whole winds up with this triumphant sentence: "This is the kind of mutual recognition which guarantees on both sides the possession of the Apostolic commission." Alas for the acuteness of Augustine! He never realised the fact that while he was wasting his time in denouncing the Donastic bishops they, in their various *fractions*, were conferring full jurisdiction on each other by the simple expedient of "mutual recognition," especially when merging their own differences to attack the common enemy. And worse still, Augustine unwittingly contributed to all this himself by his numerous *civilities*. He carried on at one time a friendly correspondence about religion, not only with their representative laymen (Ep. 34, 35, 43, 44), but even with their bishops (Ep. 22, 33, 49, 87). While yet only a priest he is asked by the Donatists of Hippo to join them in forcing their common enemy, Fortunatus the Manichean, into a public discussion; he consents without difficulty, and holds the discussion himself in the public baths of Sozcius for two days. Again, he often compliments them on their almost complete orthodoxy (Ep. xciii. 46), and on their freedom from Arianism, and for this returns public thanks to God (*c.* Crescon. iii. 38; De Hæresibus, lxix.) Much less "mutual recognition" would suffice to make distinct communions *one*, by a real unity too, in Anglican theology. But such an idea of the one church, one kingdom, one fold, one house, one mystic body of Christ, never entered the mind of St. Augustine.

"Customary law" is another cure for Schism, much relied on by Anglicans (March 26). But, surely, they ought to reflect that the force of such usage or law is derived from the presumed consent of the supreme authority. If ever any

hierarchy had an apparent right to claim jurisdiction by "customary law" it was the great Donatist hierarchy. They had preserved the old organisation of the African church in its minutest details; they had their Primate of Carthage, their Metropolitans, and their Provincial Councils; they were in no sense whatever a mere creation of the State; they sought no jurisdiction from the State; they elected their bishops freely; their succession was unbroken *materially*, and yet St. Augustine sternly tells them that they are no true bishops, that they have no jurisdiction, that they have no Apostolical succession. Our Anglican teachers could have told them better: namely, that they had real jurisdiction from their co-provincials and metropolitans, "and that the only test of communion with the one Church is communion with the orthodox bishop of the diocese, who has mission from his co-provincials or the metropolitan, their representative" (January 2). We may apply to this the words of St. Augustine already quoted: "See how many and how great things may avail nothing without some one thing."

"The living voice" is mentioned with honour in these letters, although of course flagrantly misapplied. For Anglicans it is "dumb" on the pending questions, and must remain so until an Ecumenical Council of "the aggregate of churches" can be got to meet. We have already seen that such was not St. Augustine's doctrine; but we may here give his answer to a similar plea on a memorable occasion. The Pelagians, after their final condemnation by Rome, went into a state of formal Schism, led by the celebrated Julian of Eclanum and eighteen other Italian bishops; they demanded a General Council to examine the whole matter, in which their party should be fully represented. What was St. Augustine's answer? "You still look for an examination which has been already completed at the Apostolic See" (*Opus Imper. ii.* 103).

Our typical Anglican says (January 2), "that the whole Anglo-Roman controversy turns on the question whether the Papal prerogatives are *jure divino* or *jure ecclesiastico*"; well then, let him and his friends advise their followers to study this fundamental question for themselves. All the evidence on the *jus divinum* is now quite accessible in the special works

of Allies, Lindsay, Count Murphy, Rivington, Richardson, Livius, &c. This evidence certainly convinced St. Augustine ; and what is more, it seems to have convinced the Donatists, who constantly maintained an Anti-Pope at Rome ; what they denied was not the Primacy, but the legitimacy of the successors given to Peter at Rome, who, as they said, were elected by *Traditors* and communicated with *Traditors*. How, then, can any conscientious Anglican so far despise this evidence as not even to examine it ? Our typical Anglican says (February 27), that on this subject the " aggregate of churches " is practically *dumb* ; and of course it must remain so for at least this generation, and probably much longer, on his own principles. The natural conclusion is, that every Anglican ought to examine diligently this evidence, but that is not his conclusion ; his conclusion is, " that we have to find some (other) test available for our own time " (February 13). What other tests he has found we have already seen.

We are not writing on the general subject of Schism ; we are simply describing St. Augustine's attitude towards the Schism with which he had to deal. We think it must be quite plain to every one that his teachings on the subject are totally at variance with those propounded by Anglicans, and that he would consider their whole theory as simply an effort to construct a pyramid without a base, or an arch without a keystone.

To avoid needless repetition, we have omitted very many confirmatory passages and statements already inserted in this REVIEW (July 1890-1891).

The Author of

" ST. AUGUSTINE : AN HISTORICAL STUDY."

ART. IX.—THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1. *Histoire du Canon du Nouveau Testament*, par l'Abbé A. LOISY ; *Leçons Professées à l'École Supérieure de Théologie de Paris*, 1890–91. Paris : Maisonneuve. 1891.
2. *Introductio Generalis in Utriusque Testamenti Libros Sacros*. Auctore R. CORNELY, S.J. Paris : Lethielleux. 1889.
3. *History of the Canon of the New Testament*. By B. F. WESTCOTT (Bishop of Durham). Cambridge. 1855.
4. *History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church*. By Prof. E. REUSS ; translated by D. HUNTER, B.D. Edinburgh ; Hunter. 1891.
5. *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Von TH. ZAHN. Erlangen : Deichert. 1888–91.

IT is a commonplace to observe that the vast mass of detail which has been accumulated by the intellectual activity of the last hundred years has oppressed every department of human knowledge. It becomes daily more difficult to discern the bearing of facts that lie so thick on every side ; to see the forest because of the trees. The disadvantages of this are obvious and generally recognised ; one counterbalancing gain is less noticed, yet is of much importance. The collection of facts, the tendency of which is unknown, excludes at least the influence of prejudice, and insensibly rectifies conclusions which had been based on one-sided grounds. This result has, as we should expect, been most marked in the progress of religious controversy. Points that had been hotly contested since the Reformation, have been implicitly or explicitly abandoned by non-Catholics, so that new issues have been substituted for old ones, often without the change being perceived by either party to the controversy. One of the most important of these disputed questions is the position occupied by Scripture in the primitive Church. The subject has been approached, not dogmatically, but from the historical side,

and in answer to the question, in what circumstances, and at what time, did the collection of books known to us as the New Testament come to be recognised as inspired. This question arose out of the attack on the authenticity and inspiration of Holy Scripture which has continued throughout the last century. Catholics, who have been less directly interested than orthodox Protestants, have good reason to be grateful to the latter for the zeal, ability, and learning with which the attack has been met. To mention only the chief among many excellent works—Dr. Westcott's volume was an effective reply to the objections of the Tübingen school in its earlier phases. The author of "Supernatural Religion" will have done the permanent service of eliciting from Dr. Lightfoot the essays in which he finally disposed of the pretensions of that work, and from Dr. Sanday a valuable contribution to the same subject. More recently Dr. Salmon's "Introduction to the Study of the New Testament" has summed up the evidence for the orthodox position so vigorously, that his work might be warmly recommended to Catholic students, if one did not feel that praise from such a quarter would do violence to his aggressive Protestantism. In Germany the amount of work done has been much greater even than here, and its results diverge more widely from the opinions formerly current among non-Catholics. The ground was broken by Credner, in his "History of the Canon," which is too well known to need more than mention. Since then it is impossible to enumerate more than the chief writers on the subject—Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Zahn, and Lipsius. Reuss' volume is of value as containing the most outspoken account of the bearing which the history of the Canon must have on the Protestant Rule of Faith. Finally, Harnack in his "Dogmengeschichte," and in some of his lesser works, has written much on the subject, so that we are able to profit by his fertility of suggestion and abundant knowledge of the literature of the early Church. It may be said generally of all these writers, that they tend to minimise the evidence for the early reception of the canonical books of the New Testament. I must, of course, not be taken as agreeing with them, if I confine myself strictly to my subject, and do not turn aside to traverse or qualify many of the statements I quote. Such a tendency is

an inevitable reaction from the views as to the self-sufficiency of Scripture, formerly current among non-Catholics, and now seen to be untenable. My object is to establish, by the testimony of those outside the Church, that the history of the reception of the New Testament by the Christians of the two first centuries is consistent with the Catholic teaching as to the relation between Scripture and the authority of the Church, and inconsistent with all other opinions. We shall find, to use Professor Reuss' words : " the Catholic Church has remained faithful to its principle down to our own time."* It is hardly necessary for me to specify what that principle is. The Church teaches that she alone is the supreme judge of the meaning of Scripture and the norm by which all interpretation is to be tested. Further, she claims to decide what is, or is not, Scripture ; not as thereby conferring any inspiration on the books thus canonised, but as declaring them to be inspired. In the exercise of this power, she has added from time to time in the past to the Canon of Scripture such books as she judges to be inspired, and reserves the authority to do so in the future. Her judgment that certain books are inspired has been expressed ; either by explicit teaching, or by authorising them to be read in public worship.†

The theory which Luther attempted to set up in place of the Catholic doctrine is more complicated. If I rightly understand it, he claimed, not merely to interpret Scripture, but also to determine, by a subjective test, what books are inspired ; by finding in them the doctrine of justification by faith only. The application of this test led him to consider some books—though inspired—of less value than others ; and to reject the Epistle to the Hebrews, and those of St. James and St. Jude. But there was at the same time a tendency in his own mind, and still more in the minds of his followers, to seek for an objective basis for the books of Scripture, which was found in their universal acceptance by Christians. This was clearly expressed by Brentius in the "*Confessio Wirtembergica*" (1551) : "*Sacram Scripturam vocamus eos libros canonicos V. et N. Testamenti, de quorum auctoritate in*

* P. 77.

† Franzelin : *De Script. Sac.* Thesis xv.

Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est."* Such a definition would not have included the second Epistle of St. Peter, which was nevertheless accepted by Lutherans; but with this exception the two statements are not mutually incompatible.

Those who framed the Anglican Articles were less successful in escaping from ambiguity. In the Articles of 1552 nothing is said of the books included under the title of Holy Scripture. The omission was supplied in 1562 by borrowing from the Wurtemberg Confession just quoted, and declaring that "in the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament of whose authority there was never any doubt in the Church." No list was given, but the Church of England did not follow Luther in rejecting the "*antilegomena*" of the New Testament, as this general principle would have required. Dr. Westcott's statement, therefore, that "the teaching of the Church of England as to the Canon of the New Testament is not removed beyond all question," is so far within the truth as to be almost ironical.

The so-called "Reformed Churches" derived a more consistent test of the Canon from the relentlessly logical mind of Calvin. In the Confession which he and De Chaudieu drew up, he put the consent of the Church in the second place, and appealed chiefly to "the testimony and internal persuasion of the Holy Ghost, who makes us discern 'Scripture' from the other ecclesiastical books." The same line is taken by all the later Calvinist symbols; of which the Westminster Confession may be taken as the clearest instance.† Barclay, the apologist of the Society of Friends, helped probably by his Catholic training, drew the inconvenient conclusion that the true Rule of Faith was—not Scripture, as the earlier Reformers had asserted, but—the subjective testimony of the Spirit to each individual believer. He consequently urged that this was the only test of the canonicity of any book of Scripture; that, if it was rejected, men must return to Rome, and accept

* The best collection of Protestant Confessions on this subject is to be found in Professor Charteris' valuable work, "*Canonicity*," pp. 36 *sqq.*

† "Notwithstanding" the other evidences that Scripture is the Word of God, "our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts" (Art. V.).

the infallibility of the Church—"let any one find a middle course if he can."*

These were the chief views as to the origin of the Canon of Scripture put forward when systematic historical investigation was in its infancy. We will now proceed to inquire which of these doctrines was held in the early Church, during the time when the Canon was being formed; and how far the opinions of orthodox and sceptics outside the Church have been affected by their mutual controversies.

Among Anglicans, the chief result has been a clearer recognition of the importance of the Church as the witness to the canonicity of the books of the New Testament. Dr. Westcott frequently insists on this truth.

He says, for instance:

The strength of negative criticism lies in ignoring the existence of a Christian society from the Apostolic age, strong in discipline, clear in faith, and jealous of innovation. It is then to the Church, as a "witness and keeper of Holy Writ," that we must look both for the formation and the proof of the Canon. The written rule of Christendom must rest finally on the general confession of the Church, and not on the independent opinions of its members. It is impossible to insist on this too frequently or too earnestly.†

Moreover, he fully admits, with that candour for which he is so conspicuous,‡ that the primitive Church did not consider its office limited to being a witness and keeper of Scripture.

The successors of the Apostles did not, we admit, recognise that the written histories of the Lord, and the scattered Epistles of his first disciples, would form a sure and sufficient source and test of doctrine when the current tradition had grown indistinct or corrupt.§

Dr. Salmon, too, urges very forcibly that the existence from the beginning of a Christian Church is proof enough that the New Testament did not originate in the haphazard way supposed by Renan. But he appreciates more fully than the

* See the whole remarkable passage quoted in Möhler's "Symbolism," p. 388.

† "History of the Canon of the New Testament," p. 15.

‡ The following example of Dr. Westcott's candour is worth repeating here, though it has no connection with my present subject:—"There is something mournful in the silent shadowy line of the Roman Pontiffs during the first three centuries. They seem only to be heard when they claim the powers which their successors gained" ("Intro. to Gospels," p. 396).

§ P. 65.

Bishop of Durham, that any authority which should be a real witness to Scripture must be supreme.

The supreme authority in the Church [he says] is that which brings Apostles to its bar, tests their writings, and assigns to some the attribute of inspiration which it denies to others (if it be correct to say that the Apostles were not always inspired). But what that authority is I don't know.*

He appears to relieve himself from the difficulty by suggesting the analogy of general opinion in matters of literary taste which has ruled that Shakespeare is a greater poet than Beaumont and Fletcher.

The older non-Catholic view of the New Testament has been affected in another way by modern criticism. Both orthodox and sceptical critics have been led to the conclusion that the three Synoptic Gospels show unmistakable signs of being dependent upon a Gospel, oral or written, which had taken a very definite shape before any of them had been put together. I will only mention one point in connection with this very interesting subject. Dr. Salmon gives reasons for supposing that the parts of the narrative common to all three evangelists were derived from a written source; while the sayings of our Lord—which, though substantially identical, differ in detail—probably reached them as part of an oral tradition. He points out further that the matter common to the three first gospels (Dr. E. Abbott's "triple tradition") belongs only to our Lord's Galilean ministry, which few persons would be qualified to relate. An examination of the common matter leads him to think that the most probable witness to all this part of our Lord's life is St. Peter, whom he therefore believes to have been the author of the common basis of the three first Gospels.†

Nor are evidences wanting to show that Anglican theologians will be carried still farther from their old positions, as they become more familiar with the results of recent German investigation. For instance, the learned Bampton Lecturer for 1890 seems to have adopted Reuss' teaching as to the origin of the New Testament, without realising that it is inconsistent with the ordinary Anglican view concerning the

* Appendix, p. 9.

† Lecture 9.

relations of tradition and Scripture. A few quotations will suffice :

In the Apostolic age there is no traceable idea of any new collection of writings for the use of the Church. . . . There is no suggestion that our Lord directed His disciples to write. . . . The terms used in the history of the promulgation of the Gospel and the foundation of the Church never include the idea of writing, and they express every cognate idea so fully that they must be taken to exclude it. . . . It does not appear that any one of the writers of the New Testament thought of his writing as one which would become of general use in the Church, or would be read apart from the oral teaching which had been already communicated, and which formed the substance of the "faith once delivered to the saints."*

The first three chapters of Reuss' work, to which the Archdeacon refers, contain the amplest proof of all these statements. When, leaving apostolic times, the learned Strassburg professor comes to consider the origin of the Canon, he goes still farther. He says with perfect frankness that "the Catholic Church has remained faithful to its principle down to our own time;" and quotes St. Irenæus and Tertullian in proof of this, especially relying on the numerous well-known passages in the "*de Præscriptione Hæreticorum*." He might have alleged the whole treatise, for its very title—the "*Demurrer against Heretics*"—shows the author's object is to point out that heretics have to overcome a preliminary objection before issue can be joined with them, and their arguments heard. No appeal by them to Scripture should be admitted, nor should any argument based thereon be allowed. The only question to be discussed with them is, to whom has the teaching of the faith been delivered; where this is found, there also will be the truth of the Scriptures and of their interpretation; an argument based on Scripture can only lead to loss of temper or to confusion.†

* Archdeacon Watkins' "*Modern Criticism and the Fourth Gospel*," pp. 140, 141.

† '*Ergo non ad Scripturas provocandum est, nec in his constituendum certamen quibus aut nulla aut incerta victoria . . . solum disputandum est cui competat fides ipsa; a quo et per quos et quibus sit tradita disciplina qua fiunt Christiani? ubi enim apparuerit esse veritatem disciplinæ et fidei, illic erit veritas Scripturarum et expositionum, et omnium traditionum*' (cap. 16). As Dr. Westcott relies on this passage to show that the primitive tradition was merely hermeneutic, it is as well to note that Tertullian expressly says the truth of the Scripture as well as of its interpretation, is dependent on

Reuss might have strengthened his case by appealing to the great Alexandrines, Clement and Origen, but as he says,

It is needless to multiply quotations on this point. The Protestant opposition of the sixteenth century of itself testifies that Catholicism remained only too faithful in its attachment to this principle of subordinating Scripture to tradition, and only too logically pushed it to all its consequences.

Like other writers of the same school, Reuss has remarked that the heresies of the second century had another somewhat opposed result; they increased the veneration in which the Scriptures were held in the Church. But, after dwelling on this, he repeats that Irenæus and Tertullian, the representatives of Catholicism, affirm the collective and equal value of Scripture and Tradition, adding, "It is therefore by a singular delusion that certain modern authors transform these fathers into Protestant theologians."

Reuss' volume may be said to give the principal results of the criticism of the Tübingen school as far as it bore upon the history of the New Testament Canon; and I might, instead of him, have quoted Hilgenfeld as an authority for the same statements. A new direction was given to this, as to so many other historical questions, by Harnack. The principal advance made by him was his endeavouring to distinguish, more accurately than had before been done, the circumstances in which the Canon grew up, and the reasons which determined the choice of certain books as canonical and the exclusion of others.

As to the former of these points, he urges that the collection and canonisation of the books which make up the New Testament were necessary results of the struggles with the Gnostics and Marcion. Not only did the heretical appeal to the apostolical writings compel Catholics to take these as it were out of their opponents' hands, they had also to guard against mutilations and alterations of the text, which were not uncommon. Montanism made it still more urgent that there should be a clear line drawn between the inspired Christian writings and those which could lay claim to no such authority. The essence of this heresy in its early stage was the belief in

the authority of the teaching body. So, too, St. Irenæus IV., 33-8; rather a fuller statement of the same.

the prophecies of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla, and the assertion that these constituted a secondary and final revelation : to which the Church replied by declaring that the epoch of revelation was closed, and that the Holy Spirit had only been given in fulness and without measure to the Apostles. The conflict led in another way to the formation of the Canon. Doubts were thrown on the authority of certain books alleged by either side in the controversy ; and we find that ecclesiastical councils decided the question.*

Beyond this Harnack considers the early history of the Canon involved in obscurity, until it suddenly breaks upon us as generally accepted in the well-known fragments of Melito and the Muratorian Canon. This very obscurity is due to the acceptance of the books composing the New Testament being based merely on the authority of the Church, without regard to the individuals who may have been instrumental in selecting them. Clement, Origen, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, did not mention who made the collection, but received it simply as delivered to them by the Church ; and later, St. Augustine spoke only generally of the "*Sancti et docti homines qui examinare talia poterant.*"†

One point, however, Harnack regards as certain. The Catholic communities, to meet the needs of the time, canonised those works which on the ground of tradition they held to be apostolical in origin, and chose that recension of the text which was followed in the public services of the Church. In any doubtful case one test, he says, was looked on as of primary importance ; nothing was admitted as inspired which was adverse to the rule of faith—that is, to the Catholic doctrine as expounded by the legitimate pastors of the Church.‡ A fragment happily preserved for us by Eusebius§ shows us the practical application of this principle. Serapion, a bishop of Antioch about the end of the second century, found the people of Rhossos in Cilicia had in use a gospel ascribed to

* *Cp.* Tertullian de pud. cap. 10, where he says that the Shepherd of Hermas "*ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa indicaretur.*" And again, cap. 20, "*receptor apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ (Hebrews) illo apocrypho Pastore mœchorum.*"

† Cont. Faustum, xxii. 79.

‡ He refers for the fullest proof of this to Tertullian, Præser. Haer. 37 *sqq.*

§ H. E., vi. 12.

St. Peter. After a cursory inspection he submitted it to be publicly read, but withdrew that permission on finding it contained matter contrary to the Catholic faith. Harnack's conclusion is that when the Canon was being formed the essential test whether a book belonged to it was not an historical but a dogmatic one; not whether it had been written by an apostle, but whether it conformed to the teaching of the Church. This view was traversed not altogether unsuccessfully by Professor Overbeck of Basel.* He admitted, indeed, that the Catholicity of the contents of any book had been always a condition necessary for its reception into the Canon; but he urged that the primary requisite was its apostolic authorship. In support of this he appealed with great force to the history of the inclusion of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Canon; but he laid even more stress on the canonical character of the Epistle to Philemon. He quoted the statement of St. Jerome that many early writers had denied the inspiration of the latter epistle, because it was not written with a view to instruction; but in spite of this it was received as canonical, because written by St. Paul.†

In his later works Harnack practically accepts Overbeck's criticisms, with some exceptions on which I need not dwell here. I only want to draw attention to this point: the controversy led both the disputants to consider the relation in the early Church of Scripture to the Rule of Faith, and both were agreed that the teaching of the Church was held to be the norm and test of Scripture, and not conversely. In his "History of Dogma," Harnack draws out in a series of "Antitheses," the somewhat opposed results which he conceived were due to the establishment of the Canon. Most of these are not to my present point; and it would not be possible to accept them without considerable qualification. But the last gives a sufficiently good idea of their tendency to be quoted in full:

To the Church alone belonged the Apostolical writings, because she alone preserved the Apostolical teaching in the Rule of Faith. This was explained to heretics, and, on principle, no argument with them was

* "Zur Geschichte des Kanons." Chemnitz. 1880.

† Præf. in Ep. ad Philemonem. Opp. vii. 742 sq. The whole passage is of great interest in its bearing on the history of inspiration. St. Jerome does not say who the "plerique veteres" were; as far as my own reading goes, I have only met with the opinion in Origen (in Joan, i. 5).

based on Scripture, or on the sense of passages of Scripture. But in domestic questions Scripture was the final and completely independent appeal, against which even an ancient tradition was of no avail.

Harnack's account of the formation of the New Testament has met with a severe critic in Professor Zahn, who, in the course of his exhaustive work on the Canon, has been led to differ from some of Harnack's conclusions. The discussion has been conducted at a length, and with a warmth, which would hardly be possible out of Germany.*

I have not followed all its details, nor would they bear on our present subject. Where they differ, it will be found that Zahn is more orthodox than his opponent, putting the existence of a collected New Testament farther back than Harnack does. He traces "the roots of the New Testament to the first generation of Christians," though he agrees that there was a gradual development in the veneration in which the sacred writings were held, until by the end of the second century they had attained the position they have ever since occupied. Much of the difference between the two writers is due to a different estimate of the same facts; both, for instance, admit the impulse given to the formation of a Catholic Canon by Marcion's attempt at mutilation; but Zahn urges that the production of this new Canon is a proof that a Catholic one already existed. Again, Harnack asserted that the books composing the New Testament underwent considerable alteration about the time they were declared Canonical; while Zahn has shown good reason for believing that no such wholesale revision has taken place, and that we have the New Testament substantially as it was in the hands of the Apostolic Fathers. But these are only points of detail; the two authors differ most in the directions where they have looked for evidences of the Canon. Harnack dwelt particularly on the formal reception of the sacred books by some local council or bishop, after—it is to be supposed—examination of its contents and of the evidence for its Apostolic origin. He attached less than due importance to the informal reception of these works by their

* Those who desire to follow the controversy will find it in Harnack's "Das N. Testament um das Jahr 200," and in Zahn's "Bemerkungen zu Ad. Harnack's Prüfung;" and a review of the whole in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 1, 1891.

being publicly read in the Church services. Zahn has the advantage of calling attention to the omission, and of pointing out that this indirect canonisation carries the evidence for the New Testament farther back than formal decisions would do. The disputants have each laid too exclusive a stress on one of the two ways in which, it will be remembered, I set out by saying the Catholic Church has canonised the books composing the New Testament. It would be nearer the truth to say, that these two methods belong to different stages in the history of the Canon. In the earlier period which preceded explicit definition, a position of special honour and authority was given to the writings of the Apostles by their public use in the Liturgy. When dealing with this stage of its history, M. Loisy very ably points out how significant it is that the Church should not have formulated a definite Canon, in opposition to the Gnostics on the one hand, who added a flood of apocryphal writings to the New Testament, or to Marcion on the other hand, who mutilated it wholesale. Reuss has suggested that this shows the pastors of the Church did not yet distinctly believe that the books composing the New Testament were divinely inspired. This view is, however, inconsistent, as Zahn has shown at length, with the references to the New Testament in the early Fathers; and it is inconceivable that books to which no special character attached should have been suddenly put on a level with the Old Testament by the orthodox writers throughout the whole Church.* The true solution has been put by M. Loisy with conspicuous ability. Christians believed from the beginning that the Apostles were endowed with the fulness of the Holy Ghost in an extraordinary and special degree.† But they had not yet explicitly realised that the inspiration of what the Apostles wrote in the execution of their pastoral office was a necessary effect of the Apostolic charisma, and they consequently did not at first speak of their works as inspired. In this the primitive Church did but follow the example of the Apostles themselves. No express claim to the inspiration of their writings is put forth by any of the

* The "suddenness with which the New Testament comes on us in Melito, Irenæus, and Tertullian," is a puzzle to Harnack, and a serious objection to his theory.

† S. Clem. Rom., 1, 43 & 47; S. Ignat ad Rom., iv. 3; Polyc., 3; Novatian de Trin., 29.

authors of the New Testament, with one exception. That exception—the Apocalypse—was at once put on a level with the prophecies of the Old Testament. Moreover, time was required for the spread throughout the Church of books primarily addressed to individuals and to local communities, even in an age when intercommunication was greater than it has ever been since until our own day. Reuss' explanation being therefore incorrect, the fact remains, that to the first attacks of heresy on the New Testament the Church did not oppose a formally defined Canon, but her own living authority. "The question of the mutual relations of Scripture and Tradition was thus resolved in fact, the first assault of error having shown the necessity, not for a book, but for an authority teaching the truth."*

The second stage, of inquiry and formal decision, began in the Church after the rise of Montanism. That heresy, as I have said, called attention to the limits of written revelation, and led Catholics to perceive more clearly than before that this must be confined to works written by the Apostles themselves, or composed under their immediate authority. Hence followed a sharper distinction between canonical and non-canonical books; of which the principal result was the exclusion of the Shepherd of Hermas. This singular work was acceptable to neither party; the Montanists rejected it on account of its laxity, while the Catholics could not defend with any warmth a collection of visions, very like those put forward by their opponents, and undoubtedly later than the Apostolic age.† The doubts thrown on the Epistle to the Hebrews were apparently due to a similar tendency. Where Catholics came less closely in contact with Montanism, as in Alexandria, the line of demarcation between inspired Scripture and other primitive religious works was less sharply drawn. This is most conspicuous in Clement, as Harnack points out; but it may also be noticed in Origen.‡ This writer was the first person of great ability who had been led to study the Canon of the New

* *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

† This, M. Loisy's suggestion, is by far the most plausible explanation of the discredit into which Hermas gradually fell.

‡ It has not, however, been sufficiently remarked, that both these Fathers often only express their own private opinion when they speak of any non-canonical work as inspired.

Testament, and had the advantage of comparing the opinions current in the East with those held in Rome. The test, whether any book was canonical or not, is for him, as for all the primitive Church, not his own judgment concerning it, nor its intrinsic character, but its recognition by the universal Church.* Indeed in his great theological work he enumerates the inspiration and interpretation of Scripture among the subjects which come to us on the authority of the Church.†

I have now reached the limit of my inquiry. All are agreed that by the time of Origen and Tertullian, at latest, the New Testament, in the same sense as we now have it, had been constituted. Its outline indeed was not perfectly distinct, some books were not received throughout the whole Church, and their claims were handled with a freedom that might surprise us, did we not bear in mind that the Church had issued no definition concerning them. Pending her decision there was not only full liberty to weigh the evidence for and against the canonicity of any given book; but it was clearly desirable that this should be discussed by those who were competent to do so. Such criticisms as those of Julius Africanus, Origen, and Dionysius of Alexandria, were the natural preludes to authoritative definition.

An attempt to decide the limits of the Canon merely by an appeal to history was made in the next century by the person of all others best qualified to do so, had the enterprise been possible. The confusion in which Eusebius left the question was due, as M. Loisy very acutely points out, to his endeavouring to give an answer by history alone to a question which is partly at least theological. What Eusebius failed to do can never be accomplished by those who have not before them a tithe of the evidence which was in his hands.

My object has been a much more simple and more feasible one. The relation of Scripture to the rest of Tradition, and of both to the teaching authority of the Church, is admitted by all to be the crucial point of difference between Catholics and non-Catholics. It seemed, then, worth while to inquire which view was held by Christians during the time when the Canon

* This is very clearly brought out by Hilgenfeld "*Der Kanon und die Kritik des N. Test.*," p. 47.

† *De Princip.* 1, cap. 8.

of the New Testament was being formed ; and what principles guided them in selecting some books and excluding others. My very brief survey will have shown that a great amount of information has been accumulated by writers outside the Church, to whose learning and honesty we are very greatly indebted. The result of their testimony is that, tried by this test, the Christians of the first two centuries were undoubtedly Catholics. It would be interesting to carry the history of the subject down to the rise of Protestantism and to the Council of Trent ; but I shall not regret I cannot do so here, if I send those who wish to pursue the subject to M. Loisy's excellent work, which deals with it very fully.

J. R. GASQUET.

Science Notices.

The Utilisation of Niagara.—At last the dream of the electrical engineer is realised; the hitherto wasting forces of Niagara are to be harnessed to the dynamo and motor, and the neighbourhood of the voluminous Falls is speedily to become a vast manufacturing centre. At a recent meeting of the Society of Arts, Professor George Forbes, who is consulting electrical engineer to the Cataract Construction Company, gave a description of the huge hydraulic works that have just been completed for the utilisation of the Falls. The Professor pointed out that the situation of the Falls is specially favourable to the success of the scheme, both from an engineering and commercial view. As to the engineering facilities, the Falls possess the threefold advantages of (1) enormous volume of water; (2) the considerable height of fall; (3) the unvarying volume which is continually flowing. The cause of the regularity of flow is the enormous reservoir which supplies the Falls. The reservoir consists of Lakes Superior, with an area of 33,517 square miles; Michigan, with an area of 24,000 square miles; Huron, with an area of 28,193 square miles; and Erie, with an area of 11,574 square miles; being in all about 90,000 square miles of reservoir surface draining a watershed area of 241,235 square miles. Various investigators have given considerably different estimates of the volume of water which is continually flowing: the late Sir William Siemens thought that the flow of water over the Falls was sufficient to develop 16,000,000 of horse-power, but he probably over-estimated its powers. The Lake Survey Board has put the flow of water at 265,000 cubic feet a second. Mr. R. C. Reed makes it out to be 311,500 cubic feet a second. Regarding the commercial advantages, the Falls are situated at the eastern extremity of the enormous group of navigable lakes which form a highway for the transport of raw products, most of which require the expenditure of power to convert them into articles of commerce. Three principal lines of railway pass in the immediate vicinity of the land owned by the Company, and a terminal railway has been built by the Company to connect the various parts of their property with these three lines of railway. The Erie canal also passes from this point to the Hudson river and thence to New York, while Niagara Falls, being on the frontier of Canada, the whole of that country is open to commerce.

The method adopted by the Cataract Canal Company for utilising

the water power is as follows :—About a mile and a half above the American Fall they have dug out a canal 500 feet wide and 1500 feet long, with a depth of 12 feet. Along the edge of this canal wheel pits have been dug 160 feet deep, at the bottom of which turbines are to be placed. The water is admitted to the penstocks by lateral passages or head races which can be closed by gates. After the water has exerted its powers upon the turbines, it flows into a tunnel with a grade of 7 feet per 1000, which carries it to a distance of 67,000 feet under the city of Niagara Falls. The water is discharged into the chasm below the Falls just below the Suspension Bridge. Professor Forbes considers that the cutting of the tunnel was the most important piece of engineering. The tunnel passes through limestone and shale rocks. It was hoped at first that no lining would be necessary for the tunnel, but it became apparent that the rock on exposure to air became deteriorated, and the Company resolved to line it with four courses of bricks, though this procedure has considerably added to the cost of the work. The tunnel is shaped something like a horseshoe. It is about 19 feet wide by 21 feet high inside the brickwork, and has a cross sectional area of 386 square feet over its entire length. It was found necessary to line the canal with solid masonry. Apertures are left at definite points to admit water for the head races into the penstocks for the turbines. In digging out this canal it was necessary to make a coffin-dam at its outlet to prevent the works being flooded. A shaft has already been sunk sufficient to accommodate three of the 5000 horse-power turbines which are to be used in the distribution of power. These turbines are of the Girard or impulse type, revolving at 250 revolutions a minute. They are double, and they have a regulator for adjusting the flow of water. There are vertical shafts attached to the shafts of the turbines. These extend to the ground, and on their tops the dynamos are to be mounted. Twenty of these turbines will be required to utilise the full capacity of the tunnel, which is 100,000 horse-power. As regards the electrical plant, when Professor Forbes read his paper in December last the type of machinery to be used had not been finally settled. In electrical engineering, as in other branches, there are many ways of doing the same thing, and it has been the aim of the promoters of the Niagara enterprise to avoid any haste in selection. It seems, however, certain that the method of distribution will be by some system of alternating currents. Rights of way have been obtained for another tunnel on the American side of the same capacity as the one that has been made. A concession has also been granted for utilising the Horseshoe Falls on the Canadian side, and this will

probably provide 250,000 horse-power, making a total of 450,000 horse-power available.

Fifteen hundred acres of land have been bought up in the neighbourhood of Niagara Falls, on which it is intended to build a manufacturing city. Several enterprises have already applied for power, and it is Professor Forbes' opinion that the establishment of each separate industry will bring to the neighbourhood a large number of new industries.

We expect very shortly to have a copper refinery for electrolytic processes. This will naturally bring wire manufactories to the spot. Electric cables will also be made here, where the wire can be obtained cheapest. The wants of the Company alone are sufficient to require the establishment of an electrical factory, and the facilities for transporting machinery by land or water will be such as to make it an important centre for the manufacture of large electric machinery, either for lighting, for traction, or other purposes. And so it appears likely to proceed, the success of one industry leading to the establishment of another, until the whole land of the company, and much more besides, is used up in the raising of what may eventually become the greatest manufacturing centre of the United States.

Professor Forbes does not think the diversion of the waters of Niagara River will affect the picturesque character of the Falls. The present Company cannot use more than 450,000 horse-power. This is only 12 per cent. of the total water. A difference of 12 per cent. in the flow of water would not, he thinks, be noticeable. Professor Unwin, however, in the discussion which followed Professor Forbes' paper, took a different view of the future of Niagara. He said he thought the Americans would not leave Niagara alone until it had become of itself a mere rocky dell. Considering the utilitarian character of the American nation, it seems only too likely that his prophecy will be fulfilled.

The late Sir Richard Owen.—On December 18, 1892, the scientific world mourned the loss of Sir Richard Owen. Those who have perused the various biographical sketches of the illustrious naturalist which have appeared in the daily and other journals must have been especially struck with two features in his remarkably successful career: first, the prodigious quantity of original work which is embodied in his numerous papers, treatises, and other publications, and which extend over so wide a range that, to quote the recent words of Lord Kelvin, "there was scarcely any branch of the whole of natural history that he had not touched and enriched with the results of his investigation;" secondly, his gigantic powers of perseverance in coping with opposition which is memorialised in

the beautiful structure which forms the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. Possibly few of those who have increased their knowledge in natural history from the admirably arranged collection in that museum know how much they owe to the untiring efforts of the Professor. When Sir Richard Owen was first appointed superintendent of the Department of Natural History at the British Museum in 1856, the large collection of natural history specimens was crowded together in a totally inadequate space so that they could not be properly seen; in fact, quantities of treasures had to be stowed away in vaults and underground passages. As the Government of that time had set their face against purchasing any ground in the vicinity of Russell Street, the Professor was of opinion that it was better to sever the collection from the British Museum than to deny the public the sight of the nation's zoological treasures, and earnestly advocated their removal to an adequate building. But he was vehemently opposed. In 1862 a Bill was brought in by Mr. Gladstone for the purpose, but it was strongly opposed by Mr. Disraeli, who on the very day a second reading came on had just accused the Liberal party of a lavish expenditure of public money. The Bill was thrown out by a large majority, but temporary failure only served to further whet the edge of his determination, and ten years later the Bill was passed and the Professor secured a home at last for the natural history collection in the space that covers seven acres at South Kensington.

Amongst such a wealth of literary work as Owen has bequeathed to posterity it is difficult to make selection for mention, but amongst the most masterly of his productions are the essay on *The Pearly Nautilus*, which appeared in 1832, the *Catalogue of the Hunterian Collection* in several volumes—this work afforded him his first opportunity of devoting himself to pure scientific research, for which he entirely abandoned the medical career on which he had entered in early life—the work on “*Odontography*,” his lectures on *Comparative Anatomy and Physiology*, his “*Archetype and Homologies of the Vertebrate Skeleton*,” his memoirs on “*The Nature of Limbs*,” the papers on the *Fossil Birds of New Zealand*, and on some *Fossil Mammals of Australia*, the *Manual of Palæontology*, his memoirs on the *Classification and Geographical Distribution of Mammals*, and his great work in three volumes on “*British Fossil Reptiles*.”

Although so much of the time of the Professor was taken up with pure scientific research, he devoted a considerable portion of it to a more practical branch of science, but one especially akin to the welfare of mankind—sanitation. He was amongst the first to

bring about those sanitary reforms which have made the English nation foremost in the application of hygienic principles in its large cities. From 1843 to 1846 he sat on the Commission to inquire into the health of towns. He made, in 1845, a report on the sanitary condition of Lancaster. He was appointed one of the Commissioners on the health of the metropolis, in 1846-1848. Those who had personal acquaintance with Sir Richard Owen can testify to the geniality of character that was added to his intellectual gifts. Many others with the writer will long remember the pleasant hours spent at his quiet cottage in Sheen Park, where, whatever might be the topic of conversation, he surrounded it with fresh interest from his superabundant knowledge, ever pointing out little facts and minute observations which escape the notice of all but the keenest observers, but which reveal the cause of their sequence and form, the attraction and life of the subject matter.

Anemometers.—**Dines' New Anemometer.**—The work of measuring the wind has been beset with difficulty, and no small part of that difficulty has perhaps lain in the endeavour to produce an instrument which should record all variety of wind with equal exactitude. When one remembers that the mean pressure of the wind at an inland station in England is barely over $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. per square foot, but the actual pressure may amount to 30 lbs. per square foot—i.e., 120 times the mean, one cannot be surprised that a pressure instrument should often give too small an indication to be noticeable. If our thermometers had to include a possible range of 120° , while the ordinary variations were within 1° , we should hardly expect to find them reliable in marking small daily variations. And it is, Mr. Dines tells us, just such an amount of possible variation that has to be faced in accurate measurement of wind pressure. Our national observatories, as I pointed out in a former note in this REVIEW, have been experimenting with a variety of anemometers, no single one yet showing general satisfactory results, and the Wind Force Committee of the Royal Meteorological Society in May, 1890, recommended direct comparisons of the various anemometers in use, with a view to obtaining more knowledge of the type of instrument suitable for general purposes and for special conditions of exposure and situation. A grant was given by the Society, and Mr. Dines carried out therewith a series of exhaustive experiments with five fairly representative instruments.

The instruments recorded simultaneously and automatically on the same sheet of paper; they were, some, pressure instruments, and some, velocity instruments—by name, the Kew Pattern Robinson

Anemometer; the Self-adjusting Helicoid Anemometer; Air Meter; A Foot Circular Pressure Plate; A Special Modification of Tube Anemometer. The first experiments, in the winter of 1890-91, were with three instruments only; in the summer of 1891 the Helicoid and Pressure Plate were obtained; and the result of the experiments with the five instruments during the winter of 1891-92 were embodied in a paper read by Mr. Dines before the Royal Meteorological Society in April 1892. In these last experiments about fifty yards of paper passed through the recording apparatus, and ninety separate observations were made. One of the first results of commencing the work was the emphasising of the importance of the question of exposure. Eighteen feet above the roof was found to be the necessary height to escape eddies from chimney-stacks and gables, and Mr. Dines was of opinion that the instruments interfered slightly with each other, though they were distributed over a square of about 12 feet. He eliminated this interference from his final values.

The reason of the differences between the records of the instruments was brought out in each case by these experiments in the most satisfactory way, tending to increase confidence in the record of each instrument, when working in the particular conditions suited to it. For instance, in his summary Mr. Dines stated, that "a light wind causes the pressure instruments to be too high, and the velocity instruments too low, but the error vanishes with a strong wind." And the reason of this he gives to be as follows:

If the wind drops to a dead calm, both the Tube and Pressure Plate will continue to indicate a velocity exceeding six miles per hour, although the friction has been reduced as much as possible. It is probable that most recording pressure instruments require a velocity of at least ten miles per hour before they move at all. With the velocity instruments the reverse effect occurs; before the velocity has dropped to zero, they have ceased to move, and hence it is inevitable that in a light wind the pressure instruments will be too high, and the velocity instruments too low. As the wind increases this discrepancy is greatly lessened in two ways.

He proceeded to explain how, and pointed out that the error may be considered to vanish when the mean velocity exceeds twenty miles per hour. The whole of the short summary was interesting. It stated that variations in intensity increase the readings of the Robinson and Pressure instruments, and bearing in mind the momentum of an easily moving Pressure Plate, and that the "action of a force depends not only on its magnitude, but also on the time during which it acts," it is easy to see how difficult it may be to obtain an accurate measurement of the absolute maximum wind pressure. The summary closes with the statement that "on the whole the mean

recorded by the Pressure Plate and Tube must be above the true value, and the mean recorded by the Helicoid and Air Meter must be below the true value."

A fact much dwelt upon by Mr. Dines was the determination of the factor of the Kew Pattern Robinson Anemometer; he maintained these experiments demonstrated conclusively that it must be between 2.00 and 2.27; and the factor 3 has been admittedly erroneous since 1874.

Mr. Dines was so impressed with the merits of the Tube Anemometer that he was incited to improve on the one he used in these experiments; he pointed out in his paper of April 1892 that the head was simple in construction, and strong, and that the instrument had the following advantages—that the recording apparatus could be replaced at any reasonable distance from the head, that the pipes could go round corners, and that there was no loss of power by friction in conveyance from the head.

He has preserved the head as it was, and has now fashioned an entirely novel indicating arrangement, replacing the cylinder and float, &c., by a special arrangement of curved glass tube and coloured liquid. The Tube Anemometer is essentially a pressure instrument, and there has been some prejudice against it on account, first, of its not showing breezes under three or four of the Beaufort scale when having the U-shaped tube for indicator, and, secondly, on account of its unsteadiness. Mr. Dines thinks the unsteadiness a merit, as it is owing to the wind, the variations of which it faithfully follows; anyhow, merit or error, he thinks it can easily be regulated. He arranges the scale so that indications may refer rather to the velocity than to the pressure, and as the average velocity is about one-tenth of the possible maximum of the wind, he is thus able to record the lightest winds with a scale that can include all. Mr. Dines has worked with this anemometer for nine months, and he assured the Royal Meteorological Society on November 16 last, that it has faithfully recorded velocity of the wind down to two miles per hour. For recording the maximum force he makes a slight alteration in the indicating apparatus. The instrument cannot register pressure beyond the actual amount, being so damped by the slow action of the liquid in the tube, but on the other hand it cannot register correctly an extreme pressure of exceedingly short duration such as one-fourth of a second. Mr. Dines pointed out, in conclusion, that this Tube Anemometer does record pressure, and that "the velocity graduations on the scale are made solely for the purpose of rendering light winds perceptible."

Notes on Social Science.

Moral Responsibility of Shareholders in the Labour Question.—This interesting phase of the great social problem has been treated by M. Emile Harmant in a paper read before the Société Belge d'Economie Sociale, the first part of which is reproduced in the March number of the *Revue Générale*. No one doubts that the individual employer of labour has duties towards the well-being of those whom he employs. But in these days of vast industrial enterprise, the largest bodies of workmen are employed, not by individuals, but by companies and syndicates. The moral responsibility which attaches to the employer cannot be dissolved into thin air merely because for the individual we substitute a large personality or corporation. Companies, according to M. Harmant, are invested with it in the same degree as if a single individual had charge of the same area of employment. We have a traditional grievance that when a corporation does wrong it has neither a body to be kicked nor a soul to be lost. That may be legally so, but morally and theologically, the reverse is the case. The truth is, it has several bodies, that might be very properly punished here, and several souls distinctly liable to punishment hereafter. M. Harmant very clearly traces this responsibility in the case of companies through the directors to the shareholders, on the safe principle that responsibility is inseparable from control. The acting manager, in direct and constant touch with the employed, is primarily responsible—in second instance the directors who appoint the manager—ultimately the shareholders, in so far as they can control the action of the directors. Responsible for what? For seeing that the company, as an employer of labour, acts properly and fulfils its obligations towards its employed. And that, according to M. Harmant, includes two things. First, it includes the right use of what he describes as its material influence, which, being interpreted, means the payment of proper wages—never mind who is to decide that!—the suitable housing of the workman, the provision of such helps as savings-banks, sick and benefit societies, syndicates of masters and men, and other social appliances which go to render the lot of the labourer less precarious. M. Harmant points the moral that if the company's management fail in any of these points it is peremptorily the duty of the shareholders in meeting assembled to compel them to

repair the error of their ways, and that they are morally responsible for doing so. But having done so, the shareholder is not to go away justified. For the writer of the paper does not at all admit that his responsibility ends there. He proceeds to extend it to a farther and higher plane of obligation—namely, the right use of the company-employer's moral influence. He holds that despite the changes which have done so much in the latter days to emancipate the workman, the employed depend, and will still continue in a very real and large degree to depend, upon the patronage of the employer. Thence, he argues, the labourer is always likely to seek the goodwill of his master, and to be in exactly the same measure, subject to his influence. For the proper use of this influence M. Harmant considers the employer, whether individual or corporate, is morally responsible. Hence the shareholder is to hold himself bound to see that the employes of his company shall have placed over them managers and foremen who will set them a good example in the fulfilment of their religious, and civil, and social duties, and whose personal influence will be exercised on the side of right. We think that with M. Harmant for his confessor, the ordinary investor in shares would have to examine his conscience far more fully than he is wont to do, or is likely to do; but not the less one cannot but feel that the plea and the principles urged are plainly in the right direction, and that their fulfilment would go an ideally long way to smoothe the solution of the social crisis. In any case it is high time that the shareholder should be reminded that he is his brother's keeper—especially when he employs his brother—and that his moral responsibilities do not commence and terminate with the drawing of his dividend.

A History of Socialism.—The application of the historical method to the elucidation of the social question is a sound and salutary proceeding, seeing that solid facts are by far the best weights with which to tie down the wings of the *doctrinaires*. But, quite apart from accurate researches on the statistics of the world's work and wages, which alone can shape a reliable judgment on the Labour Question, much light can be cast upon the significance of the social movement by tracing its origin and development in the public opinion of the last and present century. This task has been attempted by Mr. Thomas Kirkup in a volume of some three hundred pages. This work may prove useful as a manual to those who desire in short compass to obtain a general view of the movement as described by a sympathetic historian. In these days when so

many find "Socialism" a word to swear by or to swear at, according as they stand inside or outside of the paradise of property, any attempt to render more clear and precise its meaning and import can hardly be regarded as ill-spent time or wasted effort. For such a purpose, the following summary from Mr. Kirkup's introduction may prove not unuseful.

"The great German economist Roscher defines it (Socialism) as :

"those tendencies which demand a greater regard for the common weal than consists with human nature."

Adolf Held says :

"We may define as Socialistic every tendency which demands the subordination of the individual will to the community."

Janet more precisely defines it as follows :

"We call Socialism every doctrine which teaches that the State has a right to correct the inequality of wealth which exists among men, and to legally establish the balance by taking from those who have too much in order to give to those who have not enough, and that in a permanent manner, and not in such or such a particular case, a famine for instance, a public calamity, &c."

Laveleye explains it thus :

"In the first place, every Socialistic doctrine aims at introducing greater equality in social conditions, and in the second place, at realising those reforms by the law or the state."

Von Scheel simply defines it as the "*economic philosophy of the suffering classes.*"

People who are suffering from the reaction which follows upon undue worship of the Teutonic intellect are heard to say that the cumbrous vagueness of certain German writers is due to the fact that such writers do not know what they themselves mean, and are not always honest enough to say so. Mr. Kirkup incidentally does something to confirm impressions of this kind by his object-lesson enabling us to compare the refreshing lucidity of French utterances with the shapeless figures which move in the mists across the Rhine. But to his own mind, none of the above-given attempts at definition is satisfactory. He very rightly protests against the objectionable mistake of indiscriminating minds which identify socialism with violence, lawlessness, and a revolutionary spirit, and "confounds the essence of the movement with an accidental feature more or less common to all innovations." He holds that the economic basis of prevalent socialism is "collectivism which excludes private possession of capital, and places it under social ownership in some form or other." It is to be noted that this programme does not, as many too hastily assume, exclude private property in other forms, or freedom in the disposition of the share which accrues to

the individual from associated labour. The succeeding chapters deal with early French Socialism, the Socialism of Louis Blanc and Proudhon, early English Socialism, Ferdinand Lassalle, Rodbertus, Karl Marx, the International, Anarchism, Purified Socialism, Socialism, and the Evolution Theory. In his concluding chapter on recent progress in Socialism, Mr. Kirkup says :

The participation of the Catholic Church of Germany in the social question dates from the period of the Lassalle agitation. In 1863 Döllinger recommended that the Church should intervene in the movement, and Bishop Von Ketteler, of Mainz, lost no time in expressing sympathy with Lassalle. In a treatise, entitled "*Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christenthum*" (1864), Ketteler criticised the liberalism of the Manchester School in substantially the same terms as Lassalle, and recommended the voluntary formation of productive associations with capital supplied by the faithful. In 1868 the Catholic socialism of Germany took a more practical form ; it started an organ of its own and began to organise unions for the elevation of the working men. The principles of the movement were with some precision expounded by Canon Moufang in an electoral address at Mainz in 1871 and by the writers in their organ (p. 269).

The intervention of Protestantism in the question is of somewhat later date, and is fixed by Mr. Kirkup at 1878. The author hails Cardinal Manning as the most notable representative of those who have shown a commendable interest in social questions in England. Most readers of this work, even when they may find themselves unable to share the views and sympathies of the author, will rise from its perusal with fuller and closer conception of the aims of the social movement of our century.

Agricultural Union.—The feeling gains ground that the time has come when the agricultural section of the community should follow the example set by its industrial brother, and make itself articulate and influential by organising itself into Unions for the defence and promotion of its interests. This conviction finds an exponent in the Marquis de La-tour-du-pin Chambly, who contributes an interesting article on the subject to the last number of *L'Association Catholique*. The article unfolds a plan for the proposed organisation and representation of the agricultural classes. The plan consists of five points : (1) The division of the country into agricultural districts ; (2) The classification of the inhabitants who live by agriculture ; (3) The formation of electoral bodies, or Syndicates ; (4) The constitution of the elected body, or Chambers of Agriculture ; (5) Their action upon the public authorities. The Marquis is animated by a profound distrust of direct representation according to the usual parliamentary system, and, therefore, relies upon the system of syndicates as presenting all the advantages of

indirect representation. That the farmer or labourer should choose some one who will think and speak for him in choosing the man who is to be the protector of his interests and his spokesman to the powers that be, may appear to us an excess of anxiety to relieve the agricultural intelligence from any undue strain upon its powers, but the writer, if we interpret him aright, is chiefly in love with indirect representation on account of the admirable and valuable control which it furnishes over the person elected. The representative who owes his election directly to a multitude of individual voters has only to keep within the general lines of his promises and their mandate, and he is practically free upon the thousand and one important issues which may arise affecting the interests of his constituents. The latter form much too numerous and unwieldy a mass to sit assembled to watch him and keep him in the way he should go. Thence, too often some of the worst failures of the parliamentary system. A syndicate, on the contrary, is sufficiently capable of mobilisation to keep in the field with practical permanence, and not only to elect their representative, but to stand at his side and shape his course and action, and keep him well in hand and fully up to the standard of their requirements. The article elaborates the several points of the plan with much clearness and cogency, and rightly points out that there is no reason why such Agricultural Syndicates should not serve as a consultative body to the Government in all matters of proposed legislation affecting the farming interests, just as the Chambers of Commerce do in matters affecting trade.

The *Sociologie Catholique* reprints the eloquent conference addressed by the Rev. P. de Pascal to the students of the University of Montpellier upon Social Reform. After a keen criticism of Collectivism as presented by its chief exponent, Karl Marx, Père de Pascal traces the scheme of social reform as indicated by the Papal Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, and concludes by adopting the words of Henri Savatier :

Property ought to be organised for the welfare of the family, of the profession, of society. The right to do so has not been invented in the nineteenth century. It is not, as certain people suppose, the same thing with the liberty of Usury. We may wish to preserve property and to destroy capitalism.

Such utterances, as well as the great Encyclical upon which they are founded, go to show that there are elements in the social demands.

of our time which the Church is too reasonable and pious a mother to meet with a *non possumus*. The Usurer, the Sweater, and the gambler in Stocks will find it a difficult work to shelter their ill-gotten gains behind the tomes of her moral theology.

J. M.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Ruins of Zimbabwe.—Mr. Bent, who has made the first systematic investigation of these remarkable remains, has published the result in an interesting work on “The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland.” (Longmans, 1892.) The principal group, which he calls the Great Zimbabwe, is but the most extensive of a chain of similar fortified positions, built, as he conclusively shows, by an alien race settled in the country and engaged in the exploitation of its mineral resources. The discovery of smelting furnaces and crucibles with specks of gold still adhering to their sides in the principal ruins themselves, as well as of ancient shafts honeycombing the adjoining auriferous region, with the traces in their neighbourhood of the other processes to which the gold was subjected, leaves little doubt as to their association with a great mining industry of the early world. The position of crushing stones in rows along the banks of the streams near the old mines suggests to Mr. Bent the probable inference that they were worked by gangs of slaves chained together in rows, as seen in the Egyptian sculptures. The Great Zimbabwe consists of two groups of buildings, the one, a temple on the plain, with manifold walls, altars, and two conical towers of very unequal size, all enclosed within a circular wall of massive construction; the other a fortress on a steep granite hill in a strongly defensible position, and now presenting a maze of winding passages, complicated approaches and confused masses of masonry, strewn over the hill top. The most striking feature of the great temple below is the ornamentation of its external wall with a double belt of stones disposed in a zigzag pattern, for exactly the space on its south-western side touched by the rays of the rising sun at the summer solstice. Traces of similar decoration were found in some of the minor ruins, while the great obelisks are conjectured to have served either as gnomons to measure the solar declination, or as transit instruments to observe the passage of the stars. The two pyramidal

towers point to Arab origin, as the early Arabians are stated to have worshipped a tower built by their patriarch, Ishmael, and a similar object, called Penuel, or the Face of God, adored by the Midianites, is recorded in Scripture to have been destroyed by Gideon. As Arabia, which produced no considerable supply of gold itself, was the great source of its distribution to the ancient world, it is highly probable, as Mr. Bent concludes, that some of it at least was drawn from this auriferous region of the Zambesi.

Natives of Mashonaland.—Mr. Bent's archæological researches brought him into contact with the Makalangas, as the inhabitants of Mashonaland are called, and he gives some interesting particulars of the habits and pursuits of these most recently added subjects of the British Empire. Their liability to raids from the great Zulu kingdoms of Gazaland and Matabeleland obliges them to perch their villages in impregnable positions on the summit of the granite kopjes, or isolated hills, that stud the veldt, the approaches to which are carried through natural tunnels and defiles additionally strengthened by fortifications. Their cattle are sheltered, too, in caves or rocky refuges, and they thus save part of their property from destruction when their huts and granaries on the plain are burned by the Zulu *impis*. Their warlike instincts find an outlet at other times in intertribal warfare, but they never attempt to combine against the common enemy. They are skilled in various industries, of which iron smelting is the chief, and some villages form South African Birminghams and Sheffields, devoted entirely to manufactures, and living by the barter of their tools, and arrow and assegai heads, for the produce of their agricultural neighbours. Bark is the basis of their textile fabrics, as it is made into twine which is knitted into bags or woven into aprons. The trees are stripped at certain seasons when family parties set out for a gipsy life in the forests, living on such small game as mice, lizards, and great hairy caterpillars, and sleeping at night in rude structures of branches. Their ordinary huts are of the beehive shape common in Africa, and their grain is stored in mushroom-like, umbrella-roofed structures of reeds and clay, while trees serve as larders, and are hung with packages, enfolded in grass, and looking like some abnormal fruit depending from the boughs. They hoe the ground neatly for their crops, consisting of millet, beans, sweet potatoes, ground nuts, and corn, as well as of such vegetables as tomatoes, chillies, and capers, some of them obviously of foreign origin. Brewing and pot-making, the latter a monopoly of some villages, are practised by the women. Beer,

sufficiently potent, but easily soured, is made from malted corn, and large pots for domestic use are shaped on a stand and given a black glaze with plumbago. Their contents in corn is the price usually paid for them.

A Journey across Tibet.—Captain Bower, at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on Monday, February 20, described his journey of exploration from Leh, whence he started on April 17, 1891. His party consisted of Dr. Thorold, a native sub-surveyor, a Pathan orderly, a Hindoostani cook, a Kashmiri, and six Arghoon caravan drivers. As regards population, he estimated that of Tibet proper—*i.e.*, the country under the rule of the Deva Zhung, at four millions, while Chinese Tibet, including the province of Amdo, together with Kham, really governed by native chiefs and owning merely a nominal allegiance to Lhasa, might be put down at a like figure. Of this aggregate of eight millions for the entire of Tibet, nearly half a million are probably monks. Inhabitants are thus very sparsely scattered over the vast area included under the name of Tibet. The whole of its north and centre, with great part of its western regions, are known as the Chang, and form a high tableland, with hills mostly rounded, but occasionally presenting the sharply defined outlines of snowy ranges. The mountains generally run east and west, but no defined watershed exists, and the drainage of the country consists of rivers flowing in all directions, and ending in salt lakes which appear to have at one time occupied a larger area than at present. An idea of the configuration and physical features of this region may be gathered from the fact that for five months the party never encamped at a lower altitude than 15,000 feet and throughout the enormous expanse of country covered by their marches during that period, never saw a single tree. Greater part of the Chang is uninhabitable for more than half the year, and many of the spots where summer grazing might be obtained are too far from possible winter quarters to be available for the purpose. Only round the edges of the plateau were a few nomads met with, living almost entirely on meat and dairy produce. Anything of the nature of flour was rarely to be had by the travellers, “asampa,” the only starch-food ever found in the tents, being scarce in quantity.

Habits of the Natives of South-eastern Tibet.—In this part of the country its aspect changed completely, deeply-cut valleys, steep well-wooded hills, and rivers eventually finding their way to

the sea being its principal characteristics. Here, the population, though a settled one, living in houses and raising crops, show little superiority in character over the nomads, since they are described as faithless, immoral, cowardly, and untruthful, servile to those they fear, and insolent to others. Their unreliability has often been shown in their desertion of the French missionaries, to whom they owe so much, on the occasion of any disturbance. Though less industrious and skilful than the Chinese, they are an active and lively people, whom the stranger is at first inclined to regard as light-hearted and simple, but finds on longer acquaintance to be simple only as compared with their neighbours in China. Their physical type is good, and they seem able to withstand all extremes of temperature. The dress of the common people consists generally of a long and very greasy sheepskin robe; this is hitched up by a waist-belt during the day, so that the upper part is very full while the lower hangs down like a kilt. When the belt is removed at night the garment falls to the feet of the wearer, thus serving the double purpose of clothing and bedding. In what they consider warm weather, the right arm is bare, being thrust out of the coat; in the front of the waist-belt, slung across the body, a straight sword is carried in a scabbard ornamented with turquoises and inlaid with silver. Their foot-gear consists of boots made of brightly striped cloth, covering the leg, and fastened by garters under the knee. Their love of ornaments and jewellery is very conspicuous, and the amount of the precious metals thus used up in the country must be considerable. Among the well-to-do, red woollen cloth and various coloured silks are in favour. As the Chinese intermarry with the inhabitants, there must be considerable intermixture of race, particularly on the main route to Lhasa, where some of the former are stationed at each of the rest-houses; but no trace of modification of the original type could be traced even in those pointed out as the children of such marriages, and the children seem to grow up thoroughly Tibetan. The fact that the Tibetans do not admit Chinese women into their country, is in itself sufficient to show how shadowy is the claim of China to sovereignty over it.

Climate and Natural History.—A fairly heavy rain and snow fall were observed, and during the short summer a very nutritious crop of short crisp grass springs up, as is frequently the case where the soil is covered with snow during great part of the year. Large herds of yak and Tibetan antelope are sustained by this pasturage,

though it is hard to imagine how they live through the winter months. Bird-life is poorly represented, and the only game birds that seem to breed there are the Tibetan sand-grouse and the bar-headed goose. A few butterflies were met with at an altitude of 17,600 feet, and it seemed marvellous that anything so fragile should be able to exist on the bleak, wind-swept plateaus. Of flowering plants, 115 species were collected, and of these one was found at an altitude of 19,000 feet, probably the greatest at which any flower has ever been known to bloom. These 115 species contain twenty-eight natural orders, an unusually large proportion to the number of species.

The Nile and the Mountains of the Moon.—Fresh light is thrown on the still vexed question of the sources of the Nile by Dr. Baumann's recent exploration of the country lying between the Kagera river and Lake Tanganyika. The strange belief of the inhabitants of Urundi in that region, that their royal race was descended from the moon, caused them to receive the European traveller with the greatest demonstrations of joy as their last king, dead for more than a generation, and supposed to have now returned from his celestial abode in the ancestral orb. A range of mountains in the neighbourhood is revered under the name of the Mountains of the Moon, and as the explorer traced to them the head waters of the Kagera, believed by many to be the most southerly feeder of the Victoria Nyanza, we have here a curious confirmation of classical tradition, long discredited as mythical.

The Situation in Uganda.—The following letter has been received by the British East Africa Company from Captain Williams, in Kampalla, Uganda, dated October 22, 1892 :

All is well in Uganda, Usoga, and Toru. It is my opinion, and I believe that of the missionaries of both parties, that the country is fast settling down, and that no serious disturbance is to be anticipated ; trade is reviving, and everywhere the people are building, clearing the roads, making bridges over the swamps, and cultivating. There are, of course, occasional cases of friction between the various parties, some of which might become serious, but I have been able to award prompt punishment, and I think the people are beginning to see that I have both the will and the power to do substantial justice. I am doing all in my power to work through and with the king and the chiefs, so as to in some degree teach them to manage their own affairs.

At Kabba Rega's request I have sent a Waganda as the Company's agent to negotiate peace ; I await his reply.

Mr. Grant, with a force of Soudanese, is in Busoga. A white man with an efficient force has long been wanted there to prevent these petty

chiefs from fighting amongst themselves, and to stop the wholesale robberies which used to go on by Waganda tax-gatherers, who took ten or twenty times what was really brought to Mwanga, who is quite rapacious enough. I have fixed the tribute at a reasonable and proper sum: half the ivory tribute, worth, say £400 per annum, goes to the Company. This, with a tax of 8 per cent. on all ivory bought here or in Kavirondo by traders, will help expenses, but it must be remembered that Usoga is a very small country. The ivory comes in from the north. It would pay well to put a trading station at Save, even if only temporarily; I have neither the goods nor the men for the work at present.

From Toru there is no particular news. I have ordered some reduction of the establishment of porters there. Ntali is friendly, and Mr. Reddie hopes to do some good ivory trade with Kavalli and Katunzi (on the Albert Lake) from Fort Wavertree (Fort No. 1).

I have here about 180 Soudanese, mostly from Equatorial provinces; they are doing remarkably well, are very well behaved, and are contented and happy. I have established a school for the non-commissioned officers and boys, and any others who like. I have sent a few more of the old Soudanese privates to the coast; one of the old costs as much as five of the new.

In conclusion of my report, I beg to say that I think the directors will find, if all goes well, and I see no reason to prevent it, that these countries may be made to nearly, if not quite, pay their way if the strictest economy, foresight, and care be taken in every department.

I have a very considerable amount of ivory waiting transport to the coast.—The *Times*, February 22, 1893.

Progress of the Corinth Canal.—A Foreign Office report from the British Consul in the Piræus describes the present position of the works on the Greek Isthmus. The project of the canal owed its inception to the success of the Suez Canal, inasmuch as General Tiirr, associated with M. de Lesseps in that enterprise, was encouraged to raise a company with a capital of thirty million francs for the conversion of the Morea into an island. The concession was obtained in 1881, and the works begun in March of the following year, but the lavish and apparently uncontrolled expenditure on them quickly absorbed the capital, and the *Comptoir d'Escompte* was obliged to come to the rescue to enable a further sum of fourteen million francs to be raised. With this assistance the works were languidly prosecuted, until July 1889, when they were brought to a standstill owing to the difficulties in which the *Comptoir d'Escompte* itself had become involved in the spring of that year. As two-thirds of the total excavation of eleven and a half million cubic metres had been then accomplished, a Greek company was formed to take over the old concession and complete the partially constructed canal, and a contract was signed, in June 1890, with the *Société Générale d'Entreprises*, who began work in the ensuing September, with the undertaking to complete the canal in March 1893 under forfeit of

100,000fr. per month for all subsequent delay. In consequence, however, of a cloud-burst near Isthmia in January 1892, such torrents of rain fell as to compel the suspension of operations for several weeks, and the contractors obtained an extension of time to May 1893, the present date for the completion of the works. Although the latter are in a very advanced state, since on November 1, 1892, only 380,000 cubic metres remained to be extracted, which at the previous rate of progress represents but three and a half months' work, the Consul does not think from the present aspect of the canal that the contractors' expectation of completion in the middle of April will be realised. From 2000 to 2500 men of diverse nationalities, marshalled in groups under gangers according to their several specialities, have been employed for many years on the construction, the Armenians being kept to shovel work, the Montenegrins to the pick, and the Italians to tunnelling and masonry. As surface drainage has been mainly considered in choosing the line of the canal, it does not cross the Isthmus either at its narrowest or lowest point. Its length will be about six kilometres, with a minimum depth of eight metres and a minimum width of twenty-one metres at the bottom, and 24·6 on the surface. When completed, it will have cost nearly £2,750,000, and it is doubtful whether it will ever repay this outlay.

Earthquakes in Zante.—The terrible series of earthquakes in Zante during January and February are a consequence of the volcanic nature of the soil, which gives the beautiful island its exceptional fertility, and justifies its Italian title of "The Flower of the Levant." The misfortunes of the islanders began with the partial failure of the currant crop, to which many other forms of culture have been sacrificed, and which, owing to the appearance of a sort of blight or mildew, was reduced to half its usual productiveness. Then followed a winter of unprecedented severity, which was at its height, with the *bora*, or north wind, blowing fiercely, and the snow lying on the plains as well as on the hills, when the earthquake came, to level the houses of the unfortunate peasantry, and drive them to such imperfect shelters as they could hastily construct out of planks, straw, and the twigs of the recently pruned currant bushes. The catastrophe was accompanied by violent thunderstorms, with drenching showers of hail and sleet, so that heaven and earth combined their destructive forces to add to the terrors of the scene. Both in town and country, the habitations of the poorer classes suffered most, for, while the solid construction of the larger houses enabled them to resist the shocks, the flimsy hovels of the inferior

quarters of the towns were reduced to heaps of ruins. Thus the principal streets of the capital show comparatively little indications of the havoc done, as the street frontage of the houses with its massive stone masonry masks the destruction behind, which reveals itself only on closer examination. The villages have suffered even more heavily than the town, and in that of Macherato, near the foot of the mountains, with a population of 200 families, only six houses are reported as fit for habitation. The same is the case in the neighbouring village of Buyato, and in both the homeless population are sheltered in rude temporary structures, quite inadequate to keep out the biting winds. Much assistance has been given by H.M.S. *Camperdown*, from which tents have been lent to some of the shelterless inhabitants. The total damage is estimated at over £600,000, a heavy loss, since it falls mainly on the poor. The destruction of life was small in proportion, amounting only to six killed and about 200 injured.

Proposed English Polar Expedition.—England, since Sir George Nares' Expedition, has left Polar exploration mainly to the enterprise of other nations, and the navigation of the North-east passage has been achieved by Sweden, while Norway is now sending Dr. Nansen to seek the Pole by utilising the ocean currents, and America has entrusted to Lieutenant Peary the conduct of an expedition thither by way of Greenland. An Englishman has now, however, entered the field with a rival project, since Mr. Frederick Jackson, a member of the Royal Geographical Society, has announced his purpose of conducting a party next year by way of Franz Josef Land, the most northerly land as yet reached in the Eastern hemisphere. It may be remembered that even from this outpost of the universe a range of peaks was discerned still further poleward, and these hyperborean Alps would form perhaps a winter station for the English adventurers. Mr. Jackson regards the hopelessness of the attempt to reach the Pole from the American side, by Smith's Sound, or any other northern outlet of Baffin's Bay, as proved by Sir George Nares' examination of them, and, adopting the generally accepted axiom that the most feasible plan is to start by land north of 80° N. lat., he sees in Franz Josef Land the most promising base for future expeditions. He therefore proposes to leave during the coming summer for its southern shore, and hopes to arrive in time to push northwards to a winter station, more northerly, perhaps, than the Austrian limit. By a further advance during the ensuing year (1894) he would establish a depôt of stores somewhere about 84° or

85°, and thence progress before the winter to still higher latitudes. Should he find land, he would establish another depôt, and, wintering within 200 miles of the Pole, would have the whole of the following summer (1895) in which to reach this ultimate goal. The absence of land north of the 84th parallel would delay the advance, and doubtless frustrate the hopes of the party. But for anything known to the contrary, Franz Josef Land or some of its outlying dependencies may reach to the Pole itself, in which case a summer of fair weather might, according to the sanguine view of the intending explorer, prove sufficient. The party is to consist of only ten men, and must necessarily from the above programme be absent several years. Sir George Nares, despairing of the western route through the Polar Seas, recommended Franz Josef Land, which has the advantages of plenty of animal life and open water, as the best base for future exploration.—*The Tablet*, February 18.

The Future Inter-Oceanic Canal.—The forecast of the American engineers who condemned the project of the Panama Canal from its inception has been amply justified by events. The journals of the United States may have been actuated by national jealousy, but at least their most pessimistic prophecies that it would end in total failure after large amounts of capital had been sunk in it have been fully verified by the result. The attention of speculators in that country had, however, been turned to the project of an inter-oceanic canal long before it was adopted by M. de Lesseps, and numerous surveys of the Isthmus have been made, both at the cost of private individuals and of the nation. In 1850, two were made: one of the Nicaragua route, and another of that from the Bay of Campeachy to the Gulf of Tetuantepec, across the narrowest part of Mexico. General Grant subsequently despatched a monster expedition, which reported on nine alternative routes, giving estimates of the expense of construction for each. The shortest was that of San Blas, about 54 miles east of Panama, where the distance from ocean to ocean is but 33 miles, but here the intervening mountains would have required to be tunnelled through for four miles, and the estimate of the level canal without locks by this route was £56,000,000. The Nicaragua route, on the other hand, though the longest of all, has counterbalancing advantages which reduce the estimated cost to £36,000,000. Thus the line of 183 miles, from Greytown (San Juan de Nicaragua) on the Atlantic, to Realejo on the Pacific, traverses for 53 miles the Lake of Nicaragua, while that of Maguaga and the waters of the river San Juan can also be utilised. The

canal will be carried by seventeen locks over the Cordillera, and no special engineering difficulties are anticipated on this route. The climate, however, is very bad, at least on the Atlantic coast, and this is a consideration likely to weigh with passengers, as the transit through the canal will occupy not less than four days. Its principal benefits will be conferred on the people of the United States, as the voyage of steamers trading from New York to San Francisco will be shortened by 6000 miles, while the lesser saving of 1500 miles in the route from Europe to China and Japan will be counterbalanced by difficulty of coaling and loss of trade at intermediate ports. The construction of the canal is in actual progress, having been commenced in October 1890.

Gold Mines of Queensland.—The special correspondent of the *Times* of January 12 describes the division of Queensland into two geographically distinct regions by the great Coast Range, which in some places, as at Cairns, approaches within a few miles of the sea, and at others recedes so far from it as to enclose a considerable tract of littoral plain. This chain represents, according to geologists, a fringe of islands, once the boundary of an inland sea, covering the rolling plains which now form the rich pastoral districts of the interior. The mountains and their seaward slope contain, on the other hand, the agricultural and metalliferous zones, the latter producing, in addition to gold, silver, lead, tin, antimony, and copper. Four out of the six principal goldfields in Australia are found in Queensland, and one of these, Charters Towers, headed the list of production for the whole continent last year, while another, that of Rockhampton, contains the famous Mount Morgan, the largest auriferous block in the world. This wonderful deposit, which occurs on a patch of sandstone, is now supposed to have been created by the action of an enormous geyser which brought up chloride of gold with other materials, forming a cone some 700 feet high. At first believed to be a mountain of ironstone, it changed hands for £640, and has already paid three millions sterling in dividends, though many people have ruined themselves by gambling in its shares. It is reached by a drive of twenty-six miles from Rockhampton, and catches the eye among the grassy undulations around it, from its fantastic colouring, and the little white mining village by the stream at its foot.

The minerals in it which carry gold are [says the writer] of the most different descriptions. There is red hematite, which sets everything aflame with crimson tints fading down to palish pink. There are masses of white silicious sinter, as friable as chalk, and so light that it looks

more like froth than stone. There is iron pyrites, of which the beautiful colours have earned for it the name of peacock ore, and there are bright bands of yellow ochre. It has been often spoken of as a mountain of gold. It is really a mountain of which the core is seamed and traversed and permeated with gold. At the top the core becomes practically the whole mountain; there is nothing to be done with it but to take it all to the mill, and the open workings, which are carried on in successive steps or benches, throwing all its colours into contrast with the trees and greenery that still crown the ledges, have the effect of rough battlements against the sky. Men employed upon them blast and break away the ore, and send it down by means of an aerial tram, which connects the mine with the crushing works at the other side of the valley. Skips are perpetually going and returning along the stretched wire, which at a little distance becomes invisible, and the first suggestion is of some occult process of enchantment by which the heavy loads are induced to sail, in defiance of gravity, through the air. The lower slopes are covered still in parts with grass and trees.

The lower depths are reached by tunnels at different levels, through which the whole golden heart of the hill is being gradually scooped out. The gold is in some places borne in rock so light as to float in water, and is then so finely divided as to form a film on the surface instead of sinking to the bottom. By the ordinary method of washing, consequently, a large proportion was lost, and it is now treated by a dry process, saving 98 per cent. of the estimated yield. The entire output of gold is about 10,000 ounces a month, a tenth of that of Johannesburg, and £8000 a month are spent in wages between 1200 men and boys.

At the more extensive goldfield of Charters Towers, a town of 20,000 inhabitants has sprung up, and here 20,000 ounces a month are produced from 113 mines on two or three miles of reef, the ore of which yields an average of 1 oz. 4 dwt. to the ton, while some workings give as much as 6 oz. When it is remembered that the average through the Witwatersrand district is but 12 dwt., and the whole production of Johannesburg from forty miles of reef is but 103,000 ounces a month, the significance of these figures may be estimated. The less productive goldfields of South Queensland produced last year a total of 75,000 oz. as compared with 160,000 oz. for Central Queensland, including Mount Morgan. It is, however, in the northern division of the colony that the mass of the gold deposits is contained, and here 350,000 oz. were produced during the year, while fresh centres are continually being opened up. The latest rush was to the Batavia River, and it is the belief of experts that the gold belt encircling the colony has as yet been indicated rather than explored.

Gold Production in the Transvaal. — The *Times* of January 17 prints a report from Mr. Hamilton Smith, an American

mining engineer, on the present and future of the Witwatersrand goldfields, whose production is, according to his estimate of the district examined by him, unprecedented in mining history. The collapse of the first speculations after the original discovery in 1886 was due to the mistaken idea that the metal would be found, as in America and Australia, in alluvial deposits requiring only digging and washing for their treatment. The formation in the Transvaal consists, on the contrary, of a deposit of sandstone, transformed by heat and pressure into quartzite, traversed by roughly parallel beds of conglomerate varying from a few inches to twenty feet thick. This latter formation is the matrix of the gold, which exists in it probably to a gross amount of many million ounces, though all may not be so situated as to pay the cost of extraction. The entire basin extends for a distance of about fifty miles from east to west, filling a trough which Mr. Smith believes to have a vertical depth of 15,000 feet. The eleven miles of workings personally examined by him have yielded to the companies engaged on them a total value of £6,700,000, the average production being $12\frac{1}{2}$ dwt. to the ton. Although single mines of limited extent, like Mount Morgan, have been richer in production, no such yield has ever been given over so great a length of reef. Nor does he think that gold mining in the Transvaal will be, as in other El Dorados, of diminishing productiveness, for nature has not here already sifted the metal from the rock by water power, to be then deposited in holes or pockets. The continuous veins in the Witwatersrand reefs show no diminution at the depths of 400 to 600 feet already reached, and the more sanguine spirits in Johannesburg believe that they rather improve in productiveness with increasing depth. Mr. Smith calculates that the main reef, with a length 50,000 feet, a width of 5 feet, and an inclined depth of some 5000 feet, will yield a total of £215,000,000, to which another 100 million may probably be added from outlying mines not yet thoroughly developed. And as the demand for gold is practically unlimited, there is here no danger of over-production as in the case of other minerals. Those who attribute commercial depression to scarcity of gold may thus comfort themselves with the prospect of an almost unlimited supply during the next thirty or forty years.

Disastrous Floods in Queensland.—An inundation, unparalleled in the history of Australia, submerged the country round Brisbane in the early part of February 1893. The principal streets of the capital itself were flooded to a depth of thirty feet, while in the suburbs the water rose to nearly twice that height. Several factories

and over 500 houses were swept away, and 100 homeless families were obliged to take refuge in boats. The Governor found the greatest difficulty in reaching the city, which was, in fact, completely isolated by the inundation, all the towns for a considerable distance round it being under water. In some districts the inhabitants had to fly to the bare hills, and the greatest distress prevailed from the widespread destruction of houses and property, amounting in the aggregate to some three millions sterling, while food went up to famine prices.

Exploration in Masailand.—The *Times* of January 18 publishes a report from Commander Dundas, R.N., showing the desirability, from a humanitarian point of view, of the construction of the East African Railway. Having arrived at the extreme navigable point of the River Tana, 350 miles from its mouth, he left the stern-wheel steamer in which he had navigated it, and struck westward with a caravan through an unexplored region to Mount Kenia. After passing through a beautiful region of hills and cultivated valleys inhabited by an industrious population who evinced a very friendly feeling towards Europeans, he reached the district of Kikuyu, where he found the people in a state of great alarm from a raid of the dreaded Masai. Large volumes of smoke towards the north-west showed the route taken by the marauders, who had burned the villages after driving off the women and cattle. Captain Dundas came in sight of the column on topping the crest of a range a little further on, as they marched in a serpentine formation through the valley below, to the number of 800 warriors with broad spears glistening in the sun. The expedition being too weak to defend itself, deployed in skirmishing order so as to disguise its paucity of numbers, and the Masai passed on, after a halt to reconnoitre the strangers. Captain Dundas, on his return a week later, came upon the harrowing scenes of desolation they had left behind, smoking ruins, devastated fields, the bodies of the slain, and a few helpless survivors, the picture of the apathy of despair. The Masai had arrived at break of day, spearing all the men, destroying what they could not carry, and capturing some 250 women and large herds of cattle. One old chief implored Captain Dundas to "make medicine" to prevent the Masai returning, asking if the "Mzungus" (Europeans) would come to live with them to protect them from further attacks.

Notes on Foreign Periodicals.

GERMANY.

BY CANON BELLESHEIM, OF AACHEN.

Katholik.—The December issue contains two articles on Dr. Krogh-Tonning, one of the chief theologians of Christiania. His learned writings on dogmatic theology are criticised, due attention being given to his recent publications on ecclesiastical history and the necessity of a visible Church, defining with absolute certainty controversies of doctrine which may arise in the course of time. We may note that it is to the excellent conferences held in Christiania in 1889 by P. Scheer, of the Friars Preachers, before a congregation made up for the most part of wealthy Protestants, that we are indebted for Dr. Krogh-Tonning's considerations on the indefectibility and infallibility of the Church. It is needless to point out that an ideal church such as here asked for could never be realised in any of the various Protestant denominations. In the same issue the present writer contributed an account of Professor Dittrich's "Nuntiaturberichte Giovanni Morone's vom deutschen Königshofe, 1539–1540." Catholic scholars in England will find in this noble collection of documents gathered from the secret archives of the Vatican, and furnished with extensive critical and historical notes, no small amount of information bearing on Henry VIII. and his ecclesiastical policy. When the king published the famous six articles, intended to deceive the people about his projected separation from Rome, the Duke of Saxe and the Duke of Fülch, according to a letter of Nuncio Morone to Cardinal Farnese, October 9, 1539, held these proceedings of the English monarch to be a solemn apostasy from his principles. They despatched several embassies and conceived the plan of marrying Anne of Cleves, the Duke of Fülch's sister, to King Henry—the fourth on his list of wives. As Anne had lived for many years under Catholic influences, the Nuncio Morone deemed it to be his duty to urge the Cardinal Secretary to take steps to win her for the Catholic faith. There are also in the collection documents proving that the Duke of Bavaria in 1539 wished to wedded to the Princess Mary. He despatched an agent, named Bonacorsio, to London to conclude the marriage articles. The negotiations, however, fell through. The January issue gives the first of a series of articles on Dom Maurus Wolter, the famous Abbot of

the Benedictine Abbey of Beuron. Wolter was one of the greatest scholars of the University of Bonn, and possessed a profound knowledge of theology, philosophy, and philology. He was ordained priest in Cologne in 1850, became head-master of the school attached to the Collegiate Chapter in Aachen, joined the Benedictines in Rome, and in the course of time, assisted by the Princess Catherine of Hohenzollern, erected in 1862 the Abbey of Beuron. Here he suddenly died, July 9, 1889. Through this great foundation he became a zealous promoter of Gregorian music, the strict observance of the ritual, and of Christian art. Five bulky volumes, "*Psallite sapienter*; or, Explanation of the Psalms according to the Liturgy of the Church" (Freiburg: Herder), are likely to hand down his name to posterity, and to prove to devout souls of many generations to come a safe guide in the way of prayer and perfection. We cannot but wish that this important work, gathered as it is from the purest sources of the Catholic Church, may find its way into many a religious community. To Dr. Höhler, Canon of Limburg, we are indebted for several thoughtful articles on the "Dogmatic Test of Ecclesiastical History." Ascertained facts are not to be revised by the Church. But the results of human investigations have turned out in so many cases to be faulty and liable to error that were the Church to resign her right to apply to them the test of Catholic truth, she would practically abdicate her magisterium. In the February issue appeared a laudatory notice on Professor von Hertling's (University of Munich) recent work on "John Locke and the School of Cambridge." In his famous "Essay on the Human Understanding" there are distinguishable two conflicting currents of thought: empiricism and intellectualism appear to be blended together. Indeed, Locke's system is mainly founded on Empiricism. In discussing the question of the origin of his Intellectualism, Professor von Hertling traces it to the Platonic school of Cambridge.

Historisch-politische Blätter. -- In the January number, Cremation is considered in the light of Catholic principles. There is also a biographical notice of King Louis II. of Bavaria, by Karl von Heigel. From it we gather accurate information on the principles adopted by the King's father, Max II., in the direction of the young prince's education. Then we note the indisputable fact that King Louis II., notwithstanding the rumours spread about his inclination to Old Catholicism, had ever been sincerely attached to the Catholic Church. Other notices relate to Fr. Charles van Duerm's "*Vicissitudes politiques du pouvoir temporel des Papes*

de 1790 jusqu' à nos jours" (Lille : Société de S. Augustin). English Catholics will be interested in the "*Bullarium Trajectense*." This work, which is the fruit of much painstaking labour, is a collection, derived from the Vatican Archives, of the Papal Bulls relating to the diocese of Utrecht, from its first beginning to A.D. 1378. The author, Dr. Gisbert Brom, priest of the diocese of Utrecht, has left nothing undone to perform his task and to produce a work which, for acumen and wide knowledge in the department of ecclesiastical history, is fully up to the level of modern requirements. In another number, the "*Life of Fr. Perry*," by F. Cortie, in its German translation, receives due recognition. Next we may mention two articles on Fr. Baumgartner's, S.J., biography of "*Gallus Jacob Baumgartner*." This valuable book, for the most part based on manuscript materials, traces the life and labours of the above-named patriot and statesman. English readers will gather from it not a few details illustrating the baneful influence brought to bear on Switzerland by Lord Palmerston.

Those who may be interested in obtaining an insight into the fierce contest which is being waged in the Protestant Church in Prussia about the "*Apостolicum*," or Apostles' Creed, will find, in the February issue, a remarkable article, replete with accurate information.

Stimmen aus Maria-Laach.—In the January number Fr. Granderath contributes a learned article on "*The Old Proofs for the Existence of God and Modern Science*." The sad fact that those time-honoured proofs have lost their weight with so many minds in our own day is not to be ascribed to any assured results of modern investigation in natural science, but only to the disastrous dearth of philosophical training and the one-sided stress laid on the value of positive science. F. Krenten continues his pleasing articles on Pascal, while F. Pfülf follows up his contributions on Mirabeau. To F. Beissel, who has recently visited Italy, we owe a series of articles on the works on painting preserved in Monte Cassino and in St. Mark in Florence.

Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).—Fr. Stentrup treats the subject of "*The State and Atheism*." Atheism, he holds, strikes at the very root of society, and therefore deserves to be met not only by the weapons of light, but by those of public law. Fr. Müllendorff deals with the "*Merit gained by Good works*

and their Supernatural Motive." "St. Cyprian and his Position on Heretical Baptism" is the subject of an article by Dr. Ernst. It has been recently maintained that the saint considered the question as pertaining merely to external discipline and not to faith. The article has for its objects to show the untenability of this opinion.

FRANCE.

L'Université Catholique. Année 1892. Janvier-Décembre.
Nouvelle Série. Lyon: Facultés Catholiques.

We regret that we have not been able to give more frequent notices of this excellent periodical. We cannot speak too highly of its scholarship and literary attractiveness. There is not a dry number during the whole course of the past year. Articles on biographical, scriptural, historical, philosophical, literary subjects are presented in a judicious mixture, and they are always marked by high qualities. We may point out as particularly interesting, an article in the January number on "Bossuet et la Bible," by Théodore Delmont. The great Bishop of Meaux is depicted to us as "l'homme de la Bible." His greatest enthusiasm was devoted to this book. On that he formed not only his large spirit of piety, but his philosophy, his eloquence, his theology, and all that went to make up his mental and moral greatness. In the July number we have a remarkable paper on "l'Esprit Moderne," by Joseph Serre. It is original and bold, and maintains that the modern spirit is characterised by a *largeness* which will bring about great results in favour of religion. In the October number is an article by Ch. Denis on "M. Frayssinous et l'Apologétique Spiritualiste." It abounds in praise of Mgr. Frayssinous' method, and exalts it as the very best for our own times.

SPAIN.

BY REV. JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

La Ciudad de Dios.—The January number of *La Ciudad de Dios* opens with an energetic protest against the insult offered to the whole of Catholic Spain by the establishment of a Protestant conventicle in the great capital of the kingdom. This act of injustice, without precedent in the history of the country, has wounded the nation in its most sensitive part, has already excited no little dis-

turbance, and, without any necessity, broken the completeness of religious unity till now peacefully enjoyed. "Confiding in the righteousness of our claims," concludes the *Review*, "we trust that the voice of seventeen millions of Spanish Catholics may prevail, and that such an outrage will not be permitted to endure."

P. Honorato del Val defends the Catholic teaching concerning the origin of the Pentateuch against rationalistic criticism. He shows that tradition, which attributes the authorship to Moses, is sustained by the unbroken testimony of past centuries: a tradition, indeed, so universal and so clear and strong that it is impossible in the whole course of bygone history to point to any period in which it has been challenged or denied. The learned author considers some of the commonest objections raised by the school of the so-called "higher criticism," and shows, that so far from invalidating the claims of Moses, they rather serve to support them: *lo que parece objeción se convierte en prueba irrefragable*. He is not satisfied, however, with answering objections. He furthermore produces positive proofs, founded on the character of these sacred books, and even on the style, the narratives, and on the allusions to current events which they contain, that Moses must have been their author. The dissertation, which extends over several numbers of the *Review*, will repay a careful study.

"El Problema de la Muerte," by P. T. Rodríguez, is perhaps the most interesting essay in the February issue. "The problem of a future life" would have been a more accurate title, for the subject discussed is rather what follows after death than death itself. Padre Rodríguez shows with considerable force that, in all ages and in all places, man has never considered death as anything but a passage to another state of existence. He answers the objection, that individuals at least have sometimes professed to hold that death ends all, by quoting the words of Cicero—viz., that there is no statement so absurd and inconceivable that *some* philosopher will not undertake to defend. The care with which even savages buried their dead, both now and in remote periods, the funeral rites employed, and the custom of laying food and arms, and sometimes clothing and money, beside the corpse, all serve to indicate the idea of another form of existence. Our author also points out passages both from the Old and the New Testament in refutation of the assertion made by M. Bourdeau, that in no part of the Bible is any express mention made of the spiritual nature of the soul, and that the idea of immortality was utterly unknown to the inspired writers. Thus, for example, when in the Book of Wisdom we read, "Wisdom will not enter into a malicious soul, nor dwell in a body subject to sins" (i. 5),

we at once recognise that a pointed distinction is drawn between the spiritual soul and the material body, while immortality is actually asserted in verse 3 of chap. xv., "To know Thy justice and Thy power is the root of immortality." So, too, when Jacob speaks of the present life as a pilgrimage (Gen. xlvii. 9), and of death as a sleep (Gen. xxx.), and when he expresses a hope to be re-united with his son Joseph after death (Gen. xxxvii. 35), he evidently refers to a state of existence beyond the grave.

Padre T. Rodríguez writes an interesting dissertation on the Existence of God, in refutation of the growing errors of atheism. His whole argument is in reality but a development of the argument of St. Thomas, in which he establishes the necessity of a *PRIMUM MOVENS, NON MOTUM*. The existence of contingent beings demands the existence of an absolute Being, independent and self-existing. The temporal and mutable suppose an Eternal and an Immutable; and the finite in all its endless forms and varieties peremptorily demands an Infinite, which must be at the same time Intelligent and Personal—*i.e.*, God.

El Padre R. del Valle Ruíz writes a criticism on M. E. Renan and his famous (or infamous) "*Vie de Jésus*," in which he paints this strange and unhappy man in his true colours. It is interesting to contrast the account given by Mr. Lilly in "*The Great Enigma*," with the account before us. Of the book, which has done more than any other to render this unfortunate apostate notorious, Padre Ruíz and Mr. Lilly form very different estimates. While Mr. Lilly tells us that "he takes captive his readers by the breadth of his erudition and the abundance of his ideas, and by the magic of his style," Padre Ruíz writes that "it is not as a work of art, but as the banner of a Sect, that "*La Vida de Jesús*" has gathered around Renan such a crowd of admirers and followers, who weary not of applauding him and venerating him as a genius. Even," continues the learned Spaniard, "considered merely as an effort of pure imagination and the exclusive fruit of an exuberant fancy, it offers us no proofs that Renan was an artist of high attainments or of unusual inspiration."

ITALY.

Civiltà Cattolica—The *Civiltà* contains some important articles that have lately enlivened the hours of statesmen at home and abroad. We refer to Fr. Brandi's articles on "*The Policy of Leo XIII. and the Contemporary Review*." Fr. Brandi had no sooner finished with the

Contemporary Review than another pamphlet of 72 pages by Henry Geffcken of the Privy Council at Berlin, entitled "Léon XIII. devant d'Allemagne," appears and serves up once more not only the ideas of the *Contemporary* but what is still stranger the very same language. It used to be a matter for consideration for classical scholars whether the Laocoon group in the Vatican sprang from Virgil's immortal description or whether the poet drew his inspiration from the sculptor. We have no ambition to settle the question. Whether the writer in the *Contemporary* borrowed from Herr Geffcken or Herr Geffcken from the *Contemporary Review* we do not know, but when two writers [are they two?] run together here and there for five, ten, and fifteen lines using the very same language, we are at a loss to know how they do not make recognition of each other somewhere. Both make the same charges, so we can give our readers a correct idea of both within narrow limits. The general charge is that the keynote of Papal Policy is the restoration of the Temporal Power. Whatever else he does *that* is steadily in the Pope's mind. It is, we admit, somewhat ticklish to be able to infer motives which are always to give facts a certain complexion. It is always safest to say when a man does a certain thing that his motive was to do that thing, but we suppose as language is to conceal your thoughts, acts are good to conceal your intentions. The general charge of making favour with governments at the expense of Catholic freedom with the Temporal Power as a motive is urged by manifold considerations. There are Ireland, England, and Rome—a triangular duel. Ireland claiming liberty: England refusing it—in comes Rome and sides with strong England against weak Ireland, condemns the Parnell tribute and condemns boycotting, and creates general embarrassment for Ireland, and all because the Pope would interfere in temporal affairs with the view of getting back the Temporal Power. Then again, you have the German Government, the Centre under Windthorst, and Rome 1877. The Septennate is before the Reichstag. The Government want it; the Centre refuse it; in comes Rome, and carries the measure in favour of the strong Government, smacks the weak Centre, and sacrifices Catholics and their programme, and all because the Pope has his eye on the Temporal Power. On the other side of the Rhine you have Republican France—Monarchical Catholics and the Pope, who takes particular pains to side with the Republic, to crush the Catholic Royalists and thus sacrifice a Catholic party who obey him to their enemies, because forsooth France may some day recognise the Papal act and do a good turn for the Temporal Power. Once more you have Russia and Poland and Rome. Russia always exultant and wielding the knout—Poland always suffering in her

religion, in her national sentiment, and above all by the complaisance of Rome, which can always sacrifice her children to the old barbarian of the North. Then Austria has her troubles about the appointment of Bishops, vernacular languages in the Church Liturgies mixed marriages, &c., and Rome is always wrong. These are the backbone of the *Contemporary Review* articles and of Herr Geffcken's pamphlet, and with these various phases of Papal Diplomacy the *Civiltà* deals at considerable length.

Leo XIII. and Italy (Jan. 21, 1893) vindicates the Papal attitude towards Italy, while *Jewish Morality* (Jan. 21) and *Jewish Morality and the Mystery of Blood* (Feb. 4) will recall recent events in Austria.

Notices of Books.

Œuvres de Saint François de Sales. Edition Complète.
Tome 2: "Défense de l'Estendart de la Sainte Croix." Annecy :
Monastère de la Visitation. 1892.

THE great work of a complete edition of St. Francis de Sales, so well begun by Dom Benedict Mackey and the Sisters of the Visitation of Annecy, goes on with vigour and celerity. We noticed in October of last year the first volume, and now we have before us the second. A third is stated to be in the press. This is good progress, when we take into consideration the enormous amount of labour which is entailed by the production of a critical and definitive edition of a classic; the settling of the text, the verification of quotations, the prefatory matter, and the mere copying and printing. There is little doubt, however, that the enterprise will now advance more rapidly, for the general principles of the editing are by this time clearly understood, and moreover the two works which are perhaps the most troublesome of all have been successfully undertaken. The "Defence of the Standard of the Holy Cross," which is now under notice, belongs to the same period of the Saint's activity as the "Controverses" which has been noticed on a former occasion. Both works sprung from the needs of the holy doctor's apostolate in the Chablais. The heretics had shown themselves particularly hostile to the Cross, and had systematically destroyed as many as possible of the open-air "Crosses" scattered over the country

—just as was done in England about the same period. In September 1597, when the labours of St. Francis were already beginning to bear fruit, he held that remarkable “Forty hours” at Annemasse of which we read in his Life. This was followed up by the solemn erection, or restoration, of a great Cross on the road between that town and Geneva. St. Francis brought over from Annecy a considerable number of his Confraternity of Penitents of the Holy Cross, in order to make the occasion more marked; and he had “placards” distributed to the crowds who attended, explaining the “worship” or *cultus* of this symbol of our redemption. A minister of Geneva, Antoine de la Faye, thereupon wrote a treatise, in which he attacked the Catholic practice by every argument in his power. It was in reply to this Calvinistic pamphlet that the “Standard of the Cross” was written.

Those who have read the excellent essays on St. Francis of Sales published a few years ago by Dom Mackey himself, do not need to be told that this treatise is solid in argument, learned in citation, and written in the well-known bright and original style of St. Francis of Sales. The work is especially marked by a very full and complete *catena* of passages from the Fathers and from early Church History. The difficult question of “Adoration” is treated in a way that will never be superseded.

The present edition is a reproduction of the *editio princeps* of Lyons (1600). It has the distinction of being the first work ever printed by St. Francis de Sales. The editors have found a valuable MS. of the work among the treasures of the Visitation at Annecy—apparently a first draft of what was afterwards recopied with amendments for the press. The varying readings of the MS. have been given throughout, and they throw much light on the Saint’s thought and his method of working, and therefore upon the character of one whose personality is inexhaustible in points of interest, both religious and literary.

The Kelt or Gael. His Ethnography, Geography, and Philology.

By T. DE COURCY ATKINS, B.A., London, Barrister-at-Law.

8vo, pp. 96. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1892.

IF the present century has been remarkable for the rise of hosts of new theories in every department of learning, its close seems to be characterised by a wholesale revival of old ones. The book before us at once reminds us of the works of the pre-scientific writers on Celtic philology and linguistics. Not that Mr. Atkins’ treatment of his subject betrays the hand of an ignoramus. So far from that,

his methods evince a desire to get ahead of the very latest theories in this branch of study; but, in his eagerness to come to the front as an original thinker, he falls into one of the worst errors of the would-be philologists of a hundred years ago. Mr. Atkins has, as he expresses it, "been through the vocabularies" of a great number of languages, and has been struck (like many another student) with the large proportion of roots which any two Aryan tongues possess in common. The lists which he prints show in a striking manner the verbal affinities between Irish and Latin, Welsh and Greek. On the slenderest grounds, our author then rushes to the conclusion that Latin and Greek are Celtic dialects. Just in the same way, in the good old days, men detected a few closely-related words in Welsh and the Semitic tongues, fancied they detected many more, and hastened to declare that Welsh was "derived from Hebrew." For all this, Mr. Atkins' book is interesting reading, and, in some few respects, is even valuable—as, for instance, when he calls attention to the large Celtic element infused into our English speech. Few, even of scholars, are aware of the considerable proportion of English words which are of undoubted Celtic origin, especially in our western dialects. This book gives evidence of so much vigorous thought and originality of conception, that we are sorry its author lost sight of the all-important fact that it is identity of grammatical construction—not merely community of word-roots—which indicates that any two languages are members of the same family.

J. H. M.

Sicily: Phœnician, Greek, and Roman. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN. (Story of the Nations Series.) 8vo, pp. 387, map. London: Fisher Unwin.

"THE claim of the history of Sicily to a place in the Story of the Nations is not that there has ever been a Sicilian nation. There has very seldom been a time when there was a power ruling over all Sicily and over nothing out of Sicily. There has never been a time when there was one language spoken by all men in Sicily and by no men out of Sicily. All the powers, all the nations, that have dwelt round the Mediterranean Sea have had part in Sicilian history. All the languages that have been spoken round the Mediterranean Sea have been, at one time or another, spoken in Sicily. The historical importance of Sicily comes not from its being the seat of any one nation, but from its being the meeting-place and the battle-field of many nations. Many of the chief nations of the world have settled in Sicily and have held dominion in Sicily. They have

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wrought on Sicilian soil, not only the history of Sicily, but a great part of their own history. And, above all, Sicily has been the meeting-place and battle-field, not only of rival nations and languages, but of rival religious creeds."

Thus, in characteristic phrase, wrote the late Professor Freeman on the first page of his last work. The strange history thus described had for many years a special attraction for him, and after agreeing to contribute to the Story of the Nations Series a short history of the Norman power in Sicily, he enlarged his plan and determined to write the story of its early centuries, so as to make the later history more intelligible to the student. Hence the plan of an outline history of the island from the dawn of Greek colonisation to the days of Frederick II. On his favourite principle that "in order to write a small history you must first write a large one," he elaborated the three volumes of Sicilian History in Classic times, published by the Clarendon Press. This great work he left unfinished at his death, but he had completed the shorter history, coming down to the close of the Roman power in Sicily, while the larger work came no further than the tyranny of Dionysios.

This volume thus represents the latest work of the departed historian. It is one of the most remarkable in the series to which it belongs. In page after page one recognises the touch of a master's hand, and new light is thrown upon the history of the ancient world by thus, as it were, focussing the interest upon one narrow territory, the meeting place in the struggles of so many peoples. Freeman's own peculiar views colour his brief reference to the early Christian history of Sicily in the last chapter. The volume is more sparingly illustrated than most others of the series, but the reproductions of some of the earlier coins of Sicily makes one realise that if in other ways we have progressed our medallists have gone backwards since those far-off times.

De Censuris "Latæ Sententiæ." Juxta hodiernam Ecclesiæ disciplinam brevis expositio et explanatio. Auctore SAC. EDUARDO GONELLA. Augustæ Taurinorum: Marietti. 1893. 8vo, pp. 201.

FOR those that desire a fuller insight into the provisions of the Constitution "Apostolicæ Sedis" than can be gained from the notes which Ballerini and Cretoni have added to the "Moral Theology" of Gury, commentaries on the Constitution have been published by Avanzini, d'Annibale, Conrado, and others. Father Gonella now provides us with a fresh commentary. His treatise is

short, but it is full of useful matter and everything irrelevant is scrupulously included. Whereas other commentaries, as, for instance, that of Conrado, contain a treatise on Censures, Father Gonella rigorously restricts himself to a commentary on the clauses of the Constitution. His treatise is clear in style, methodical in arrangement, and a just sense of proportion is displayed in the varying lengths of the comments according to the greater or less importance of the several clauses.

Agnosticism, New-Theology, and Old-Theology, on the Natural and the Supernatural. By Rev. JOS. SELINGER, D.D., Prof. of Dogmatic Theology at St. Francis' Seminary. Milwaukee: Hoffmann Brothers Co. 1892. 8vo, pp. 79.

THE purpose of this treatise is to establish the existence of the Supernatural and man's supernatural relation to it. Reason proves the existence of the Supernatural, for it proves the existence of a Primal cause Who infinitely transcends nature. Reason also discovers that the destiny of man is, in some way, in union with the Supernatural, for the Primal cause, in producing things, must have constituted Himself their end, otherwise He would have subordinated His action, which is Himself, to the finite, and thus would have sought His own end in His effects, and to suppose this is to suppose not only what is unworthy of Him, but also to suppose what is impossible. But God has vouchsafed to constitute for man a destiny such as reason could never indicate and nature could never claim. Man's end is to be, not a natural union of mind and will with God, but a supernatural union by grace and glory. Since reason can tell us nothing of this supernatural relation of man to his end, God Himself, as the Vatican Council has decreed, has supplied the deficiency by Revelation. But the tendency of the present day is to put the doctrine of the supernatural out of court. At the Eighteenth Assembly of German Protestants, held at Gotha, in October 1889, Dr. Otto Dryer persuaded the meeting to reject Dogmatic Christianity and to adopt "Undogmatic Christianity." The reasons which Dryer successfully urged in favour of this substitution were that "Dogmatic Christianity is untenable in the face of the wonderful progress in the modern natural sciences," that "the Bible is beyond doubt of human origin," and that "the doctrine of the Supernatural which forms the basis of the entire teaching of the Church cannot be reconciled with the intellectual life of modern times." Dr. Selinger contrasts "Undogmatic Christianity," or as it is called by its American advocates "New-Theology," with

the teaching of the Catholic Church which repudiates all alliance with Agnosticism and is divinely indifferent whether its doctrines be or be not reconcilable with what Dr. Dryer calls "the intellectual life of modern times."

Dr. Selinger's treatise may be valuable as an exposition, but it contains little in the way of argument. Occasionally it fails even as an exposition. Thus, for example, Dr. Selinger seems to confound the natural with the supernatural end of man. Scotus, according to Cajetan, was guilty of this confusion. But Scotus, at least, did not allow that man's supernatural end was naturally known to him. Yet Dr. Selinger (p. 17) seems to assert that man naturally possesses this knowledge.

The Faith and Life of the Early Church. By W. F. SLATER, M.A., Biblical Tutor, Wesleyan College, Didsbury. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1892. 8vo, pp. 412.

MR. SLATER endeavours to persuade us that the conception of the Church, as a visible hierarchical society, instituted by Christ as the great means of grace and salvation, had no existence before the days of Irenæus and Tertullian. The first Christians "had no officers except the 'twelve,' who had been specially called out by the Master as His witnesses. These exercised no lordship over their fellow-believers" (p. 58). The office of the Apostles was "to receive and distribute the contributions of the community. They possessed no "authority to impose dogmas on the understandings and consciences of men," nor did they possess "any royal jurisdiction over individuals and Churches" (p. 29). When the "responsibilities" of the Twelve as receivers and distributors of contributions became more than they could bear, seven men were chosen to assist them. "Irenæus was the first to say that the 'seven' were 'deacons'" (p. 40). A little later we find that certain others known as "elders" or presbyters were rendering similar assistance. "The presbyters would often find it needful to concentrate their authority in one representative" (p. 44). Such a representative was called a bishop. Unfortunately the bishops were not content to remain mere "administrators of church funds." They thrust themselves to the front, and, in so doing, they were, it appears, to some extent, acting in self-defence, for the presbyters were now making rapid strides towards authority. "Gradual, yet rapid development first separated the 'minister' or 'elder' from the ordinary level of church membership. It soon began to be imagined that what the priesthood had been in Judaism that the presbyterate ought to be in Christianity" (p. 44).

Tertullian and Irenæus, according to Mr. Slater, now came forward to advocate the claims of the bishops. But their most redoubtable champion was Cyprian. "Cyprian unfolded in all its proportions the analogy between the Levitical orders of the Old Testament and the ministerial orders of the New. He regarded the hierarchy and temple-service of the old covenant as prophetic symbols of the newer institutions. None but the bishop could answer to the high priest: all sacerdotal grace and authority must be derived from him" (p. 45) "Henceforth the Church became the sole dispenser of grace and out of it there was no salvation" (p. 408).

Just as the Fathers were relapsing into Judaism when recognising a Hierarchy, properly so called, of bishops, priests, and deacons, so were they, according to Mr. Slater, succumbing to Jewish prejudices, when they claimed unity as an essential characteristic of the Church. "The credit of the idea that there should be an absolute uniformity of doctrine and practice in the Church is unquestionably due to those who said, 'Except ye be circumcised ye cannot be saved'" (321). There was no such unity, it appears, even amongst the Apostles. "There is no direct evidence that Peter ever returned to the mixed Agape. It is fairly certain that James would never take part in it. Such was 'apostolic unity'" (p. 31, note). The investigators of the Tübingen school are much more trustworthy witnesses than the Fathers, and to them we must allow "the honour of having brought the realities of the primitive age out of the mists of tradition" (p. 189). They have shown the unsoundness of "the orthodox theory of a faultless unity of creed and liturgy and discipline throughout the apostolic age" (p. 190).

We are glad to be able to quote, before concluding, a passage from Mr. Slater's book with which we find ourselves to some extent in agreement. Mr. Slater, like all who are not High Churchmen, recognises the utter illogicality of the High Church position. "Of course," says Mr. Slater, "Mr. Gore and his party can furnish no effectual reply to the Roman Catholic claims, so 'constant and unmistakable.' If we are to follow the development which can be traced in Irenæus, Cyprian, and Augustine, why should we hesitate to accept that accomplished by Gregory, Leo, Pius the Fifth, and Pius the Ninth? . . . Once yield Mr. Gore's major proposition that 'salvation is by the visible Church,' and thousands more would perceive that the Anglican system was a doubtful dependence. It has only been 'visible' strictly speaking, since the sixteenth century. That it happened to be 'visible' in the first centuries in independence of Rome would present little obstacle. It was for a thousand years in 'visible' fellowship with Rome, and made that fellowship its 'glory'" (p. 403).

The New Apocrypha.

1. **The Apocryphal Gospel of Peter.** The Greek Text. MacMillan & Co.
2. **The Newly Recovered Gospel of St. Peter.** By J. RENDEL HARRIS. Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. 98.
3. **Evangelii Secundum Petrum et Petri Apocalypseos quae supersunt,** par A. LODS. Paris: E. Leroux.
4. **Le Livre d'Hénoch.** Fragments Grecs, par A. LODS. Paris: Ernest Leroux. Large 8vo, pp. lxvi-198.

A GREAT deal has been said and written within the last few months, upon the subject of the Apocrypha recently discovered at Achmim in Upper Egypt, and their relation to the four canonical Gospels. The interest taken by English scholars in such matters is well illustrated by the fact that, within a very short time from the first publication of the documents in question by Mr. Bouriant, director of the French Archæological Mission at Cairo, an excellent text of the "Gospel of Peter" was published by MacMillan & Co., and learned lectures on the "Gospel" and "Apocalypse," by J. Armitage Robinson and Montague Rhodes James, scholars of distinction, appeared from the Cambridge Press. From the fact that, though the discovery at Achmim was made in the winter of 1886-87, the fragments were only given to the public last year, Mr. Rendel Harris seems to draw the conclusion that French scholars are no longer interested in Biblical and Patristic criticism. In this he is hardly justified by the facts. It must be remembered that the prime object of the French Archæological Mission at Cairo is the promotion of the study of Egyptian antiquities, and that biblical discoveries are not directly part of its work. The French, however, were not behindhand in studying and estimating the value of the documents, when once they came before the public, in proof of which we may point to M. Lods' scholarly publications on the subject.

Perhaps not much need be added to what we said in the last number of the DUBLIN REVIEW, regarding the "Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter." Mr. Rendel Harris deals very cursorily with the Apocalypse. It was known, he says, to the martyrs of Carthage, St. Perpetua and her companions, in the year 203 A.D., and is undoubtedly a work of the second century. M. Lods, whilst pointing out that it is still premature to attempt to fix accurately the date of its composition, lays down that it was clearly held in great esteem at the end of the second century after Christ. Regarding the "Gospel of Peter," Mr. Rendel Harris, in his interesting popular treatise on the subject, does not go beyond assigning it unhesitatingly to the

second century. M. Lods sees no objection to considering it as a production of the first half of that century.

It seems to be universally admitted that the "Gospel of Peter" is a Docetic work; indeed, Mr. Rendel Harris in one place speaks of "the daring Docetist who concocted the book." On the other hand M. Lods seems to consider that the Docetism of the writer has been exaggerated, and endeavours to explain away many of the passages that have been adduced to show the Docetic tendency of the work. Certainly, he maintains, the language of the author is not consistent. Thus, whilst declaring the impassibility of Christ, he dwells at length upon the torments to which he was subjected. Then, again, after our Lord had been taken up (*ἀνελήφθη*), and according to the strict Docetic doctrine only the animal flesh remained, the writer still speaks of *our Lord* as having the nails abstracted from his hands, &c. In a word, whilst admitting traces of Docetism in the Gospel, M. Lods considers that it is not the more refined form of Gnosticism commonly called Docetism, but a form of the teaching widely spread in the second century, and accommodated to the vulgar mind.

M. Lods has also published a volume upon the fragment of "The Book of Henoch," containing a long introduction, the newly-discovered Greek text, and a French translation. A large part of the introduction is taken up with a discussion of the Greek text, which is said to be allied more closely with the Ethiopian version than with the existing fragments of Georgius Syncellus. M. Lods thinks that the new Greek text, taken with the materials already at the disposal of students, makes it abundantly clear that the Ethiopian is a very loose translation of the original, and that it is "infiniment probable" that the "Book of Henoch" was originally composed in a Semitic language.

As to the origin and date of the "Book of Henoch," we extract the following passage from M. Lods, and so conclude our notice (p. xxvi.):

"Les débats engagés sur l'origine du livre d'Hénoch ont, en somme, conduit aux résultats suivants : le livre dans sa forme actuelle est l'œuvre d'au moins trois auteurs différents dont on peut approximativement fixer l'apport respectif ; sur l'époque où ces auteurs ont écrit, l'enquête est encore ouverte ; d'après la plupart des critiques, le gros du livre doit avoir été composé en hébreu par un Palestinien avant l'ère chrétienne ; mais il paraît de moins en moins probable que, avec les matériaux actuels, on parvienne à s'entendre pour fixer la date d'une façon plus précise."

J. A. HOWLETT.

The Byzantine Empire. (The Story of the Nations). By C. W. C. OMAN. 8vo, pp. xviii, 352. T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, London. 1892.

MR. OMAN has made a valuable addition to the interesting and scholarly series which has for title "The Story of the Nations." He has compressed within the covers of a small volume some of the best results of Finlay's and Bury's studies in East-Roman History. In twenty-six chapters the author defends the successors of Justinian and Heraclius against the sweeping and indiscriminate condemnation of Gibbon and his parrot-like imitators. No one can rise from the perusal of this brightly written and beautifully illustrated volume without feeling amazed that the word "Byzantine" ever came to be used as a synonym for all that was corrupt and decadent. The tale of New Rome, far from being the depressing and monotonous chronicle which modern historians both English and French have been presenting us with, becomes under this writer's hand a record of brave deeds, consummate statesmanship, industrial prosperity, and brilliant successes in the field of arts and literature. If after the veteran of the war of Greek Independence, the young Dublin professor, and the Marquis of Bute, the Byzantines needed an apologist, that need is now supplied by the graceful and erudite author who has shown us in these pages the great work of the East-Roman Empire in holding back the Saracen, and in keeping alive the lamp of learning and culture. Mr. Oman has gone to the original chronicles. He has read the history of the Eastern realm in the very language of its home writers. The way that he has acquitted himself of his task is the best proof of his close and familiar acquaintance with Ammianus, Leo the Wise, Procopius, and other Byzantine authorities of the first order. That the book is not everything that a Catholic would wish goes without saying. We are not ready to accept the author's estimate of St. John Chrysostom in every particular, though we think the title "Fifth Century Beckett" is not an inappropriate one for the golden-mouthed patriarch of Constantinople. Mr. Oman's disquisitions on asceticism and devotion to the Saints suggest the very criticism to which he unsparingly treats Mr. Lecky. They sound "like a cheap echo" of second-hand No Popery writers, whose staple commodity is Littledale-and-water. Numerous illustrations, chiefly of St. Sophia, and a fair index complete this readable and instructive book.

G. H.

The Life of St. Monica. By M. l'Abbé BOUGAUD. Translated by Mrs. EDWARD HAZELAND. New Edition. 8vo, pp. 452. 4s. 6d. Art and Book Company, London and Leamington. 1892.

THIS book in its English dress has attained the honour of a second edition. It deserves them. The material has been ably worked and the translation is idiomatic and fluent. We consider this *Life* one that should prove deeply interesting to three classes of Catholic readers. Those who love to live over again the ages when the young Church was winning her first laurels in the conflict with idolatry, superstition, passion and ignorance, and rearing such heroes and heroines as Sebastian and Agnes, Cyprian and Cecilia, Ambrose, Jerome, and Eustochium, must heartily welcome a book which can take a place on their shelves beside *Fabiola* and *Callista*. Christian mothers cannot do better than follow the advice given by St. Francis of Sales to St. Jane Frances de Chantal, and read *St. Monica's Life*. In her untiring exertions to secure the conversion of her erring son they will note the strength, constancy, and ingeniousness of a mother's love. The irresistible power which the heart of a true mother has with God and with man come out nowhere more clearly than in the history of the valiant woman whose tears, prayers, penance, and holy living won back to the faith the loftiest intellect of his day and changed the slave of pleasure into the doctor of grace. The holy Bishop of Geneva understood how much mothers, who are anxious about their children's eternal welfare, stand in need of encouraging models if they are to persevere in prayer and patience. *St. Monica* is one of these encouraging models, for her *Life* is replete with helpful and consoling lessons. The third and last class of readers who should be specially attracted to this well-written analysis of a saint's growth in holiness is made of the countless orders and congregations that have adopted the rule of St. Augustine. If the twinship of soul existing between St. Benedict and his sister St. Scholastica, may be traced in the gentle and considerate provisions of the Great Rule of Western Monasticism, it ought not to be impossible to find *St. Monica's* share in the sweet tenderness and large-souled love which runs through St. Austin's Holy Rule. A careful study of Abbé Bougaud's book will help the religious sons and daughters of the great African Bishop to catch the harmonies and spiritual affinities which float downwards through their rule, from two hearts knit together in a closer relationship than any mere tie of blood known on earth. We particularly recommend chapters ii., x., xiii., xv. The distinction between the Austin Friars and the Austin Canons might have been brought out more clearly, at least in a note by the translator. The author wrote at a time when Frenchmen were

unconscious that any distinction existed. We should also like to see some remarks on Old English devotion to St. Monica, especially among the English canonesses in the sixteenth century, added to the chapter on the Cultus of St. Monica. The Abbotsleigh, South Mimms, and Hayward's Heath communities, we have no doubt, possess precious memorials of such devotion.

G. H.

The Great Educators : Loyola. By the Rev. THOMAS HUGHES, S.J.
8vo, pp. 295. 5s. London : William Heinemann. 1892.

THE educational system of the Society of Jesus is the subject of this learned and lucidly written volume. It is a book that was needed. The place of St. Ignatius among the great educators of the human family is fully recognised even outside the Church which produced him; but many will be glad to have a compact critical statement of the principles and method adopted by his spiritual children. Deviating from the course pursued by the compilers of the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the projectors of this interesting series have not given a professed enemy the congenial task of underrating the recluse of Manresa and his works. On the contrary, they have had the good sense to invite a member of Loyola's Order to explain the sources, process of development, and present influence of the system within and without the Society. Fr. Hughes has, we think, risen to the opportunity afforded him. While perfectly dispassionate, his book is a magnificent tribute to the pedagogical methods in use among his religious brethren. The first part contains a biographical and historical sketch, having for its chief subject the person of the Founder, viewed especially as the originator of the Jesuit teaching system. The details and the pedagogical significance of the various elements in the method appear in the second part as a critical analysis of the *Ratio Studiorum*. The author, without making his work heavy, dry, or bulky, has embodied, or quoted in it, various rare documents which will assist the reader in coming to a clear and comprehensive judgment on the subject. Besides the original documents, custom, ancient and modern, has been laid under contribution, with the result that we have before us the chief traits which are characteristic of the system, and which may be suggestive in the development of pedagogical science. If Fr. Hughes has not written a book as fascinating as Miss Drane's "Christian Schools and Scholars," which he quotes in the opening lines of his first chapter, he has done a service to all engaged in the work of edu-

cation by clearly describing the inner workings of a most successful educational organisation. People inclined to lift up their hands admiringly over free education as a modern panacea, devised by an enlightened State, will read with surprise that gratuitous education was given all over Europe by the Jesuits as early as the sixteenth century. Perhaps the discovery may lead some of Fr. Hughes' readers to go still further back and see what the ancient orders and pre-reformation Churchmen did in the same direction. School Board officials may learn much from this book. The too apparent insufficiency of mere intellectual training to prevent crime was grasped by the disciples of Loyola more than three hundred years ago. Hence their special care to cultivate the heart no less than the head, to instil ethical principles based on solid and manly religion at the same time that they formed the mind on the most beautiful literary and artistic models. We hope this series of "Great Educators" will include a volume entitled "Benedict."

G. H.

Verses on Doctrinal and Devotional Subjects. By Rev. J. CASEY, P.P. 8vo, pp. viii-188. Dublin: James Duffy. 1892.

FATHER CASEY'S facile verse gives fresh emphasis to many thoughts too familiar in prose to appeal forcibly to our minds. This, the third volume he has published, contains a large selection of devotional poems, divided into several categories, such as hymns of thanksgiving, a series of verses for a Novena to the Sacred Heart, and many miscellaneous poems headed by a text of Scripture, and developing the thought contained in it. Among these, "Lazarus come forth," and "There was no room in Bethlehem," may be taken as illustrative of the author's method of expressing in simple and fluent rhyme the feelings suggested by the striking words of the Gospel narrative. Father Casey is well known for his temperance lyrics, some of which are reprinted in the present volume, and among them that written for the Father Mathew Centenary celebration in October 1890, to the Irish air of "Wreathe the Bowl," is especially worthy of commendation as a good stirring song likely to be most efficacious for its purpose of carrying the war into the enemy's country by annexing the lively tunes hitherto associated with the glorification of jovial vice.

Poems. By ALICE MEYNELL. 8vo, pp. 72. London: Elkin Mathews & John Lane. 1893.

MRS. MEYNELL'S high reputation as a poet has hitherto rested almost exclusively, as far as public acquaintance with her works was concerned, on one perfect sonnet reproduced in various selections of extracts. Her earlier volume entitled "*Preludes*," having been some time out of print, she was thus in the singular position of a recognised and highly esteemed contemporary poet, whose works were almost unknown. The publication of the present dainty little volume raises her at once to the first rank among those singers of our day whose utterances have been of the fragmentary sort, expressing with more or less intensity, single and mostly fugitive moods of mind. Her strain, that of the *Æolian* harp in its subtle cadence, is like it too in being charged with that undertone of wailing plaintiveness to which all the voices of nature are tuned, and whose very vagueness has a strange charm for human ears. The subjoined fine sonnet, entitled "*The Love of Narcissus*," illustrates this prevailing tendency :

Like him who met his own eyes in the river,
 The poet trembles at his own long gaze
 That meets him through the changing nights and days
 From out great Nature; all her waters quiver
 With his own image facing him for ever;
 The music that he listens to betrays
 His own heart to his ears; by trackless ways
 His wild thoughts tend to him in long endeavour.
 His dreams are far among the silent hills;
 His vague voice calls him from the darkened plain
 With winds at night; strange recollection thrills
 His lonely heart with piercing love and pain;
 He knows his sweet mirth in the mountain rills,
 His weary tears that touch him with the rain.

The Rhythm of Life, and other Essays. By ALICE MEYNELL. 8vo, pp. 106. London: Elkin Mathews & John Lane. 1893.

MRS. MEYNELL is singular, and in our own day almost unique, in having at equal command the two great forms of literary expression. The early part of this century, indeed, furnished a two-fold instance of this gift of speech in two voices, for the "*Author of Waverley*" doubled the fame of the *Minstrel of the Border*, and the Lombard musician whose name is chiefly linked in this country with his one immortal prose work "*I Promessi Sposi*," ranks with his own countrymen at least equally high as the singer of the "*Cinque Maggio*." But many of those who were familiar with the name of Alice Meynell as that of the author of the "*Preludes*," will be surprised

to find that she is endowed as an essayist with even rarer gifts than those displayed in her verse. For hers is the art above all arts of briefness without haste, and of fulness without distention. Each sentence would be but the text of another's entire essay, and each essay might be expanded to a volume. An exquisite fastidiousness of taste enables her to express in some subtly suggestive syllable an evanescent thought that others would laboriously strive after through plodding sentences, and renders every sentence a highly polished gem sparkling with light from multitudinous facets. The title of the volume is derived from the opening paper, dealing with the recurrence and intermittency of all phases of life and sensation, which have their ebb and flow as prescribed by the universal "law of periodicity." But Mrs. Meynell's ideas are imprisoned in a web of language of such gossamer fineness, that they escape through the grosser mesh of ordinary style, and cannot be summarised or translated into the vulgar tongue. Among the phrase-jewels strewn through her pages some have the crispness and concentration of proverbs, such as "multiplicity is exactly the disgrace of decoration"; "foolish ornament gains a cumulative force and achieves a conspicuous commonness"; and "the property of power is to use phrases, whether strange or familiar, as though it had created them."

Méditations sur la Vie de N. S. J. C. Par le R. P. M. MESCHLER, S.J. Traduites de l'Allemand par l'Abbé PH. MAZOYER. Tome 1er. 8vo, pp. 609. Paris: P. Lethielleux; London: Burns & Oates.

THE Meditations offered to the reader in this volume are minute and elaborate studies on the Life of our Lord. There are no effective arts—the writer having said in his Preface all that he has to say on effective prayer. The matter is very abundant and is well set out, all the circumstances being made the most of. An Introduction treats of the Holy Land as the theatre of our Lord's Life, and of the political, religious, and moral condition of the Jewish people at the period of His manifestation. The volume, which does not include the Passion, will be found extremely useful by preachers as well as by those who take it up for the purposes of meditation. It has the approval of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris and of the General of the Society of Jesus.

Miscellaneous Essays. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. 8vo, pp. 429. 7s. 6d. London: Percival & Co.

MR. SAINTSBURY has been called a "critic of all works." He probably has no objection to the name, for he appears to hold that the critic, like the judge in one of our Courts of Justice, ought to be ready to deal with whatever is brought before his tribunal. His range is a wide one, but he claims, not without reason, that however diverse the subject there is a unity of method in all his work. What this method is he sets forth in a few interesting sentences, which are the core of his preface:—

It is possible to disagree with M. Brunetière in his confession and apology, as the author of books made of articles, that "articles will never make a book." A book, as it seems to me, consists not so much in ostensibly homogeneous subject, or in the fact that the author has excogitated its plan at a single stroke, as in the unity of method, of treatment, of attitude, and of view. I hope that there is such unity here, and if there is, it may perhaps be due to the observation of three rules which I have always tried to keep before my eyes, whether in writing the history of a literature or in criticising a platform speech for next day's paper. These rules are: Never to like anything old merely because it is old, or anything new merely because it is new; never to judge anything in literature or politics except from the historical and comparative standpoint; and always to put the exposition of the subject before the display of personal cleverness.

Sound rules these, and too often forgotten by the would-be smart and epigrammatic school of reviewers. It may be added that Mr. Saintsbury further distinguishes his work by the attention he pays to the criticism of form and style, and this lends a special interest to the essay on English Prose Style, with which the present volume opens. Many of the essays that follow deal with French subjects. Some of the extracts in that on Saint Evremond might have been omitted with advantage to the volume, notably one which includes a number of Jansenist calumnies against the Church. At the risk of being classed with *les imbéciles* one wishes that Mr. Saintsbury had less to say in favour of Baudelaire. In his essay on Renan he brings out very clearly the utterly unscientific methods of the author of the "Vie de Jésus."

De Canonica Diocesium Visitatione. Auctore PAULO CARDINALI MELCHERS. 8vo, pp. 180. Coloniae ad Rhenum: J. P. Bachem.

CARDINAL MELCHERS was born at Münster, Westphalia, in 1813. From 1858 to 1866 he was Bishop of Osnabrück. From 1868 to 1885 he was Archbishop of Cologne. He resigned this

high ecclesiastical post into the hands of Leo XIII., and in the consistory of July 1885 was elevated to the Sacred College. Released from the onerous duties of the government of the See of Cologne, Cardinal Melchers was happily inspired to collect his memoirs, and to publish them for the benefit of his brethren in the episcopate. This task he has just accomplished in a work of small compass but of solid value. The octogenarian author has left nothing undone to render his production as perfect as possible, and to bring it up to the level of modern requirements. The Italian and German authorities which have been consulted have been fully requisitioned and supplemented by additional material. While scrupulously following the usual regulations prescribed by the Canon Law for the visitation of churches and other ecclesiastical institutions, the Cardinal is fully alive to the need of meeting the actual wants of the Church. This is exemplified both in the excellent rules which he lays down for the visitation of schools, whether of the higher or lower grade, and also in his notes upon the authority of bishops in the visitation of the monasteries and religious houses of his diocese. These rules are not sketched in naked outline, but are copiously illustrated by clear and concise observations drawn from the history of Canon Law. Although Cardinal Melchers' work has in view the actual condition of the Church in Germany, there can be no doubt that it will have a helpful and instructive value to the bishops of other countries. We may go further, and say that its usefulness will be appreciated not only by the *Visitores* but by the *Visitandi*.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Officium Parvum B. Mariæ Virginis necnon Officium Defunctorum, in Græcam linguam translata a Monachis Benedictinis S. Dominici de Silos. Paris et Lyon: Delhomme et Brigueu. 1892.

SINCE the revival of Greek letters in the West three centuries ago, many attempts have been made to render the prayers of the Latin Church, and especially the Little Office of our Lady, into that language. The last of these translations is now presented to us by the Benedictine Fathers of St. Domingo of Silos in Spain; and it may fairly be recommended as superior to its predecessors. The Psalms are taken from the liturgical edition of the Psalter published in Rome, the lessons and other passages of Scripture from the authorised edition of the Septuagint. The rest has been carefully corrected; and, in the cases of the "Sub tuum" and a few other antiphons, common to the Eastern and Western Churches, the

Greek liturgical form has been inserted. Of course the most difficult part of such a task is the translation of the hymns, especially the trochaic metre of the "Ave maris stella," and the Fathers' version of these may be pronounced satisfactory. The typographical part of the little book is well done, the Greek type is excellent, and there are few printers' errors even in the accentuation.

It is to be feared that we have fallen upon times when Greek will be less and less studied; but if it lingers anywhere this manual may be confidently recommended for the use of boys who have made some progress in the language. They would not only easily acquire familiarity with an extensive Greek vocabulary, but also realise more fully the sense of the sacred words, which is so apt to be passed over when a language is employed which has long been known.

Un Agent secret sous la Révolution et l'Empire : le Comte D'Antraigues. Par LÉONCE PINGAUD. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1893.

WHILE engaged in the composition of his excellent work on the correspondence between the Count of Artois and De Vaudreuil, M. Léonce Pingaud became interested in a certain mysterious character named D'Antraigues who was frequently mentioned in their letters. This man was of good family, and had been for a short time a member of the National Assembly. His uncompromising opposition to the popular party had brought upon him frequent threats of vengeance, especially as he had previously written strongly in favour of their demands, and consequently he had quitted France early in the year 1790. During the emigration there was a great demand for the services of secret agents—half diplomats, half spies—who could be acknowledged or repudiated as circumstances required. Among this ignoble band Count D'Antraigues was far and away the most famous. For more than twenty years he bribed couriers, pilfered dispatches, tempted secretaries to divulge their masters' correspondence, and betrayed the confidences of his friends. Besides receiving large sums from the Royalist party in France, he was also in the pay of Spain, Sicily, Russia, Austria, and England, and while taking the money of each of these he never hesitated to reveal their secrets to the others. Once he fell into Bonaparte's clutches, and only extricated himself by consenting to falsify a document in such a way as to exonerate his captor and to implicate Pichegru in a Royalist conspiracy. Ever afterwards there was a deadly hatred between the secret agent and

the great conqueror, and if D'Antraigues could be said to work for any other motive than his own interest that motive would be a hatred of Bonaparte. As the influence of the new empire gradually extended itself over the Continent he was compelled to take refuge in England. The Peace of Tilsitt (1807) deprived his services of any value to his paymasters, except to the English, and these were loth to employ so base and untrustworthy an agent. Hence his last years were spent in comparative neglect. Just when, in consequence of the war between France and Russia, he was about to be restored to the favour of his greatest patron, the Czar, he was murdered by a man whom he had lately dismissed from his service. The assassin had been in the French army in Spain, and was said to be a spy in Napoleon's pay.

This brief sketch of D'Antraigues' career is enough to show how interesting is M. Pingaud's book. The story itself is full of sensational incidents, and in such capable hands it loses nothing in the telling. Three portraits—two of D'Antraigues himself, and one of his wife, a famous opera singer in the days of the old *régime*—add much to the value of the volume.

T. B. S.

L'Ancien Clergé de France. I. Les Evêques avant la Révolution. Par l'Abbé SICARD. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1893.

THE present position of the Church in France is a melancholy spectacle to all who are interested in her welfare. The nominal religion of almost the entire nation, her ministrations are despised and rejected by the vast majority of the male population, and her action is hampered at every turn by vexatious persecution. To account for this state of things we must, as in every other branch of moral inquiry, go back to the study of the past. The evil that men do lives after them; and so it may prove that the failure of the clergy at the present day is to be attributed, not to any want of zeal on their part, but to the conduct of their predecessors, and to regulations which have long been abolished. Fully recognising this principle, the Abbé Sicard proposes to do for the French Church what M. Taine has done for French institutions generally. His volumes will form a study of "*Les Origines de l'Eglise Française Contemporaine*." As a rule he confines himself to a clear and interesting statement of facts. So far he deserves nothing but praise. Now and then, however, he takes up the defence or extenuation of some of the abuses; but one suspects that his pleading is rather half-hearted. A little honest indignation at the more glaring

scandals would have been in place. Perhaps M. Sicard is of opinion that the mere perusal of his book will ensure many such an outburst on the part of his readers.

M. Sicard rightly begins by putting his finger on the fruitful source of most of the miseries of the French Church. At the time of the opening of the States General (1789), every one of the hundred and thirty bishops was of noble birth. The profane scoffs of the infidel philosophers excite our disgust; but surely they had some ground for scorn when they saw before them an institution professing to have been founded by a Carpenter and a few poor fishermen and yet admitting none but nobles to its most sacred offices. Men so chosen were no doubt admirably fitted to make their bow at Court, to preside at local assemblies, to shine in all the agreeable arts of the *salon*; but they could hardly be "a pattern of the flock from the heart." It is no wonder that in the rude conflict which ensued in the eighteenth century, they went down before the gibes of Voltaire, the sentimentalism of Rousseau, and the learning of D'Alembert and the Encyclopedists. This much being said, we can readily allow that many of the old courtly prelates were men of exemplary piety and were enlightened rulers; we can allow, too, that in some cases, considering the lofty secular station occupied by the bishops of certain dioceses, it was advisable to appoint members of the great families. Nevertheless, "*La carrière ouverte aux talents*," was the secret of the success of the Revolution; the opposite principle was the ruin of the Church.

How these aristocratic bishops were appointed, their relations with the Court, with their families, with their clergy and their people, their high sounding titles, their wealth, their power—all these matters are treated by M. Sicard in a way that is most creditable to his industry and his powers of exposition. In less capable hands his book would have been a mere catalogue; as composed by him it has all the charm of an interesting story, and makes us eagerly look forward to the appearance of the succeeding volumes.

T. B. S.

Christopher Columbus: His Life, Labours, and Discoveries.

By MARIANA MONTEIRO. Author of "*Basque Legends*," "*History of Portugal*," &c. &c. Pp. xii.—176. London: John Hodges, Agar Street, Charing Cross. 1893.

Cristoforo Colombo e la scoperta dell' America. Presentati al Popolo Italiano. Per Fr. MARCELLINO DA VEZZANO, M.O. Con Prefazione Storico-critica, dei P.P. M. DA CIVEZZA E T. DOMENI-

CHELLI. Pp. xxiv.—160. Società Di San Giovanni Desclée : Lefebvre e Cia. Roma : Via della Minerva, 47-48. Tournai : Avenue de Maire. Parigi : Rue Saint-Sulpice. Lille : Rue du Metz.

SINCE shortly before the 12th of October last—the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America by Columbus—many accounts of the life and adventures of this wonderful man have appeared, written from every possible point of view. Of the two books at the head of this paragraph the first may be described as purely biographical, no attempt being made to trace the development of the discovery. It records the chief events in the life of the great discoverer, as we have been accustomed to understand them, and without reference to modern criticism—*e.g.*, it states that Columbus was educated at Pavia; Fr. Knight says Padua, and Markham maintains that he was not educated at either university, but at the weaver's school at Genoa. Again, in the matter of the marriage of Columbus, the authoress follows the older accounts, whereas some modern writers maintain that the first wife of Columbus was not Donna Perestrello, daughter of the Governor of Porto Santo, but another lady of the name of Moniz. And so on with several other points of divergence. We merely draw attention to these matters for the benefit of those who may wish to know more about Columbus than what is herein contained. Otherwise the account is pleasantly descriptive and the book beautifully got up, and is altogether a very suitable prize for convent and collegiate schools.

The second life, which is not English, but emanates from the country of Colon or Columbus, differs from the first in that it is illustrated, the main events being pictorially represented from “Columbus a Beggar at the Convent Gate,” through the “Glorious Reception by the Sovereigns,” after the great discovery, to his “Dying in Poverty at Valladolid.”

J. J. C.

Reviews in Brief.

Poésie Liturgique du Moyen-Âge. 1. Rythme. 2. Histoire.

Par U. CHEVALIER, Chanoine Honoraire de Lyon. Lyon : Vitte. 1892.—The two pamphlets before us are reprints of articles that have appeared in the *Université Catholique* of Lyons. The former is devoted to showing that ecclesiastical poetry is not a mere corruption of the metric systems of classical verse, but a reversion to the native form of Latin poetry. This rhythmical poetry, which was congenial to the character of the Latin language, was thrown into the shade during the Augustan age under the influence of Greek models, but survived in popular use, and became the parent of mediæval verse, just as the “*lingua vulgaris*” was the source of the modern languages of Southern Europe. This is the view now generally held by students of the subject, and is defended by Canon Chevalier with much learning and ability. The second is a bibliography of hymns, sequences and other liturgical poetry, assigning as far as possible the date and authorship of each. It will be indispensable to any one who is pursuing the same line of study.

Analysis of the Gospels of the Sundays of the Year.

Translated from the Italian of Angelo Cagnola, by Rev. L. A. LAMBERT, LL.D. (New York : Benziger Bros.)—A little work bearing the *imprimatur* of Archbishop Corrigan of New York. It is remarkable for brevity and conciseness, and gives, in the form of question and answer, the chief lessons to be derived from each gospel. It would be a useful addition to the library of missionary priests whose various labours make it impossible for them to consult the more solid and exhaustive works—while on the other hand they are anxious to embody the principal gospel truths in short Sunday discourses to their flocks.

The Holy Mass Explained. By the Rev. F. X. SCHOUPPE, S.J.

Translated by the Rev. P. O'HARE. (New York and Cincinnati : Fr. Pustet & Co.)—A good explanation of the rite of the Holy Sacrifice, accurate, and not too long, is what priests and their flocks constantly inquire after. The name of Father Schouppe, one of the most precise dogmatic writers of the day, is a sufficient guarantee that the little work here noticed will be found most useful. We have a sufficiently full explanation of the ceremonies, the altar with

its furniture, the priest's vestments, and the sacred function itself. The translator has done his part fairly, but he has been unfortunate in his artist, who has managed several times to place both the priest and the missal at the wrong end of the altar.

Le Droit Social De L'Eglise. Par P.Ch. M. (Paris: L. Larose et Forcel.)—Pope Leo XIII. has had no little trouble in his ecclesiastical policy through the difficulties placed in his way by over zealous partisans. From enemies we are ready for anything, but from sons of the Church all seems to go wrong unless there is that submission of mind so worthy of a Catholic. The anonymous author of the book before us has boldly quoted from the Holy Father's many public utterances, and fancying himself called to be a stout defender of the Faith, launches forth a principle which would practically destroy all effective temporal power and submerge its very existence in the substitution of an ecclesiastical policy never yet claimed, but ever repudiated by the Church. It is a book of a good man, but of one whose goodness has lost its influence by his vexatious and impossible theories. His energy is unbounded, but the direction it has taken has been as unfortunate as we could have wished it to have been useful.

Poems in Petroleum. By JOHN CAMERON GRANT. 8vo. pp. 168. (London: E. W. Allen. 1892. 2s.)—The poems in this somewhat curiously entitled volume show considerable power of rhythmical expression, and record the impressions of one who has visited many lands with a mind keenly sensitive to the varying phases of nature in all. But while many of the lyrics are written in a reverent spirit of praise, there are some passages we should wish to see expunged before recommending it for the general reader. Nor is a volume of this kind, necessarily liable to fall into the hands of the community, the fitting place for arguing those vexed questions of social reform, which require the utmost discretion in their handling, however excellent may be the intention of those who thus raise them. We regret these blemishes all the more, because there is in other respects much to admire and praise in the work.

A Course of Lenten Sermons. By the Rev. P. SABELA. Second edition. 8vo. pp. 107. (London: Burns & Oates; New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.)—A re-issue of Father Sabela's Sermons for Lent; their subject is the Passion of Our Lord.

The Servite Manual. A Collection of Devotions chiefly in honour of Our Lady of Dolours. Compiled by the SERVITE FATHERS. Small

8vo. pp. 438. (London: Burns & Oates; New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers.)—The Servite Fathers have issued a compact and handsome prayer-book, containing, besides the usual devotions suitable to the laity, all the special Servite practices in honour of the Seven Dolours of Our Lady. It must be presumed that the addition to the Litany of Loreto, “*Regina Servorum tuorum*,” is authorised; but perhaps it would have been as well to explain that it is only for Churches of the Order. And what is meant by “*a relic* of the Seven Holy Founders”? The Manual has the *imprimatur* of the Cardinal Archbishop.

Manifestation of Conscience. Translated from the French of the Rev. PIE DE LANGOGNE, O. M. Cap. 12mo, pp. 171. (New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1892.)—A Capuchin Father has written (apparently in the Belgian periodical the *Canoniste* (*contemporain*)) a commentary on the Decree “*Quemadmodum*” of Dec. 17, 1890, which restricts the power of superiors in religious houses to require a “manifestation” of heart from their communities. The Archbishop of New York gives the translator his *imprimatur*. There is much in the book which will be useful both to Prelates and to the heads of convents.

The Church, or the Society of Divine Praise. A Manual for the use of the Oblates of St. Benedict. From the French of Dom PROSPER GUÉRANGER. (Edited, with Introduction, by a Secular Priest. 8vo, pp. xvii-58. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.)—The principal part of this “Manual” is a translation of an exhortation of Dom Guéranger, dictated during his last illness, and addressed to priests who have become affiliated to the Benedictine Order. It is marked by the devotional and liturgical spirit of the eminent restorer of the Liturgy. The translation is well done; but no one is more difficult to translate perfectly than Dom Guéranger.

Select Revelations of St. Bridget, Princess of Sweden. New Edition. 8vo, pp. 212. (London and Leamington: Art and Book Co.; New York: Benziger Brothers. 1892.)—This is a reprint—it does not seem to be a new edition—of a little book published seventeen years ago under the auspices of Cardinal (then Archbishop) Manning. The translation is good, and there is a Life of the Saint, together with an Introduction.

The Sting of Death: its Antidote. By the Rev. ALBAN STOLZ. (Translated from the seventeenth German edition. 8vo, pp. 88. London: St. Anselm's Society. 1892.)—The anonymous

translator of a most popular German book has given an admirable version—almost as good as the original. These pages are somewhat florid, but form a most eloquent and telling treatise on the preparation for Death. Their picturesqueness and directness, and the abundance of illustration make them most suitable for the use of the laity ; but we are much mistaken if priests also will not find them extremely stimulating and suggestive. The *imprimatur* of the Ordinary of Westminster vouches for the soundness of the doctrine.

Philotheus and Eugenia. Dialogues between two Anglicans on Anglican difficulties. By Mr. SERJEANT BELLASIS. (Second Edition. 8vo, pp. 88. London: St. Anselm's Society. 1892.)—Many of our readers may already know this book. As an instrument for meeting and removing the prejudices of the average Anglican, there are few (perhaps none) that are better suited to their purpose. The subjects treated are the Incarnation, the honour paid to our Lady, the Saints, Miracles, Church and Bible, Purgatory, Latin prayers, the Jesuits, &c. An interesting feature of the dialogues is the thorough comprehension of the distinctively Anglican notions on such subjects as the Incarnation, Social or "common" Prayer, reading the Bible, and looking up to the Church of England as "Our Mother!" A note to the present edition gives some details as to the history of the "Dialogues," and informs us that the two last are now published for the first time. Serjeant Bellasis (who was converted in 1850) had to explain his conversion to his wife, and therefore had to study precision in his exposition of Catholic doctrine—with a success which these dialogues fully prove.

Spiritual Letters of Father Surin, S.J. Translated by Sister M. CHRISTOPHER, O.S.F. With a Preface by Father F. GOLDIE, S.J. (Edited by the Rev. H. COLLINS. 8vo, pp. 393. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co.; New York: Benziger Brothers. 1892.)—There are one or two Letters in this collection, written by Père Surin in the earlier part of his life, which are nothing less than treatises, in their way unsurpassed. Such is the very first Letter of all, in which he relates his conversation with a young man of eighteen whom he met in a diligence going out of Rouen. Such also is the second Letter, in which a devout Christian finds a complete rule of life. In the twelfth Letter there are three or four on "Study," such as one rarely finds in spiritual books. Other Letters are just as profound, practical and useful, and the book is a valuable addition to the library of spiritual reading. The "life" which Father Goldie has contributed, merely touches on that marvellous and obscure episode in Père Surin's career, his connection with the

Possessed Nuns of Loudun. The translation is good, but some of the proper names, as well in the body of the book as in the preface should have had a little more attention.

Devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament. Translated from the Italian of JOHN BAPTIST PAGANI, author of the *Anima Devota*. (A new and revised edition. London and Leamington: Art and Book Co. 1892.)—There are few more acceptable books of devotion than this manual of thirty-one Visits to the Blessed Sacrament. A new and revised edition is here placed within the reach of all.

La Bataille du Home Rule. Parnell. Sa Vie, sa Fin. Par L. NEMOURS GODRÉ. 8vo. pp. 183. (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1892. 2s.)—If French writers may often be justly reproached with ignorance of English institutions, they are open to no such accusation when they treat of Ireland. Partly owing to racial affinities and partly owing to hostility to England, they have always understood the Irish character and Irish aspirations far better than most Englishmen do. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that M. Godré's short sketch of the late Mr. Parnell does justice to the Irish chief-tain's meteoric career. Readers of Mr. T. P. O'Connor's "Life of Parnell" will find nothing new here, but they may be interested to see the familiar materials served up with a terseness and a charm which even the brilliant Irish journalist cannot rival.

T. B. S.

The Holy Hill. A Toiler's Song. By JOHN G. GRETTON, S.J. 8vo, pp. 52. (Manresa Press, Roehampton. 1892.)—These beautiful devotional lyrics are addressed to some of the higher moods of piety, of which they fitly mirror the vague and wistful imaginings. Language, metre, and imagery, are alike attuned to a solemn and majestic music suited to the loftiness of the subject, while the passage from Jeremias that preludes the first part, and the versicles of the XLII. Psalm that usher in the second, seem to set the key to the grave harmonies that follow. The subjoined lines may serve as a specimen of the general flow of the verse:

Still air move onward heavy with the thunder ;
 On land the night prepares thee welcome room.
 Though freedom woos thee to the sea,
 Where myriad wave-crests bow to thee
 And lightnings laugh from gloom to gloom,
 Thy joy is here to cleave the cedar's heart asunder.

A beautiful print of the Crucifixion forms an appropriate frontispiece to this interesting volume.

St. Patrick's Hymn Book. By Rev. E. GAYNOR, C.M. 8vo, pp. 99, 4s. net. (Browne & Nolan. 1892.)—A new hymn book is always welcome, and especially so when upward of forty new tunes have been added to it. The spirit, too, which guides it can be gathered from the author's preface in which he says that it "is an attempt, however feeble, to encourage more rational views and practices in hymn singing." The harmonies are rigidly simple, and could easily have been made sweeter if more difficult for reading purposes. If we might be critical the rendering of the "Daily Daily" in the tenth bar is crude, if correct. The author, however, has quite scored a success in his musical production, and, added to a separate book of the words, he has also published a tonic Sol-fa vocal score. We wish the work every success.

Books Received.

- Saint Paul.** Ses missions Par M. l'Abbé Fouard. 8vo, pp. 544. Paris : Victor Lecoffre. 7fr. 50c.
- S. Thomæ Aquinatis.** O.P. doctrina de co-operatione Dei cum omni natura creata præsertim libera. Responsio ad R. P. F. Dummermuth. Scripsit Victor Frins, S.J. 8vo, pp. 498. Paris : P. Lethielleux et Cie. London : Burns & Oates.
- The Bread of Life ; or St. Thomas on the Adorable Sacrament of the Altar,** arranged as Meditations. By Very Rev. H. A. Rawes, D.D. 2nd edition. 8vo, pp. 303. London : Burns & Oates.
- Etudes de Theologie Positive** sur la Sainte Trinité. Deuxième Série. Théories Scolastiques. Par R. P. Th. de Regnon, S.J. Large 8vo, pp. 584. Paris : Victor Retaux et Fils.
- Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ,** Auctoribus R. Cornely, I. Knabenbauer, Fr. de Hummelauer aliisque Soc. Jesu presbyteris. Commentarius in Evangelium secundum Matthæum. Auctore J. Knabenbauer. Pars prior et Pars altera. 8vo, pp. 552-583.
- Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi** latinè secundum editionem Sti. Hieronymi ad codicum M.S.S. fidem recensuit Johannes Wordsworth, episcopus Sarisburiensis, in operis societatem assumpto Henrico Juliano White. Partis prioris fasciculus III. Evangel. secundum Lucam. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 4to, pp. 269-484. 12s. 6d.
- Méditations sur la Vie de N. S. Jésus Christ.** Par R. P. Meschler, traduites de l'allemand par M. l'Abbé Mazoyer. Tome 1er. 8vo, pp. 609. Paris : P. Lethielleux.
- Sermons for all Sundays and Festivals of the Year.** By Rev. J. N. Sweeney, D.D., O.S.B. 8vo, pp. viii-614. 4th edition. London : Burns & Oates.
- Philotheus and Eugenia.** By Sergeant Bellasis. 8vo, pp. 86. London : St. Anselm's Society.
- Un Pape Belge.** Histoire du Pape Etienne X. Par Ulysse Robert. 8vo, pp. 118. Bruxelles : Société Belge de Librairie. 1fr. 50c.
- The Following of Christ.** In 4 books. New translation. 8vo, pp. 368. London : Burns & Oates.

- Life of St. Charles Borromeo.** By Edward Healy Thompson, M.A. 2nd edition. 8vo, pp. xv-249. London: Burns & Oates.
- The Life of St. Dominic :** with a sketch of the Dominican Order. 2nd edition. 8vo, pp. 371. London: Burns & Oates.
- Catholic England in Modern Times.** By Rev. F. Morris, S.J. 8vo, pp. 104. London: Burns & Oates.
- The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170.** By W. M. Ramsay, M.A. 8vo, pp. xiv-494. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Foregleams of Christianity.** An Essay on the Religious History of Antiquity. By Chas. Newton Scott. 8vo, pp. 222. London: Smith, Elder & Co.
- A Manual of the Law specially affecting Catholics.** By W. S. Lilly, LL.M., and John E. P. Wallis, M.A. 8vo, pp. vxi-266. London: W. Clowes & Son.
- St. Paul's Cathedral in the time of Edward VI.** Edited by J. O. Payne, M.A. 8vo, pp. xxix-29. London: Burns & Oates.
- Bernardin de St. Pierre.** By Arvède de Barrine. Trans. by J. E. Gordon. 8vo, pp. xviii-209. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Histoire du Regne de Marie Stuart.** Par Martin Philipppson. Tome iii. pp. 520. Paris: Emile Brouillon.
- Studies by a Recluse in Cloister, Town, and Country.** By Augustus Jessop, D.D. 8vo, pp. 278. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- John Keble :** A Biography. By Walter Locke, M.A. 8vo, pp. 245. London: Methuen & Co. 5s.
- The Microscope :** Its Construction and Management. By Dr. Henri Von Heurck. Translated from 4th French edition by W. E. Baxter. 4to, pp. 382. London and New York: Crosby Lockwood & Sons, D. Van Rostrand & Co.
- A Visit to Europe and the Holy Land.** By Rev. H. F. Fairbanks. 8vo, pp. 461. New York: Catholic Publication Society.
- Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland (1776-79).** Edited by A. W. Hutton. Two vols. 8vo, pp. 470-471. London: Geo. Bell & Sons.
- Guide to the Oratory, S. Kensington.** Edited by Rev. H. S. Bowden. 8vo, pp. 112. (Illustrated.) London: Burns & Oates.

- Un Royaume Polynésien : Iles Hawai.** Par G. Sauvin. 8vo, pp. 303. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 3fr. 50c.
- The Home Grammar.** By Laura Whithead. 8vo, pp. 190. London : Burns & Oates. 2s.
- Civilisation and Progress.** By John Beattie Crozier. 8vo, pp. 464. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 14s.
- Literary, Scientific, and Political Views of Orestes A. Brownson.** By Henry F. Brownson. 8vo, pp. 418. London : Burns & Oates.
- History of English.** By A. C. Champneys, M.A. 8vo, pp. 144. London : Percival & Co. 7s. 6d.
- Dictionnaire Générale de la Langue Française,** par MM. Hatzfeld, Darmesteter et Thomas. Fasc. 9. 4to, pp. 625-704. Paris : Ch. Delagrave. 1 fr.
- Raoul de Berignan.** By Mrs. Corballis. 8vo, pp. 188. London : Burns & Oates.
- The Story of the War in La Vendée and the Little Chouannerie.** By Rev. G. Hill, S.J. 8vo, pp. xvi-324. London : Burns & Oates.
- The Sting of Death. Its Antidote.** By Rev. A. Stolz. Translated from the German. 8vo, pp. 88. London : St. Anselm's Society.
- The Black Lady and other Tales, from the German.** By Canon Schmid. 8vo, pp. 298. London and Leamington : Art and Book Co. 2s. 6d.
- A Mixed Marriage.** By Lady Amabel Kerr. 8vo, pp. 216. London and Leamington : Art and Book Co.
- Le Roman d'une Impératrice.** Catherine II. de Russie, d'après ses mémoires, sa correspondance, et les documents inédits des Archives d'état, par K. Waliszewski. Large 8vo, pp. 618. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie.
- Green Bays, Verses and Parodies.** By Q. 8vo, pp. 89. London : Methuen & Co.
- Schoolfellows' Stories.** By Walter Sweetman. 8vo, pp. 288. London and Sydney : Eden, Remington & Co.
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